

The Nation.

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The Week.

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S Civil-Service Reform Commissioners have once more run up against President Harrison's Postmaster-General in their efforts to enforce the civil-service laws and regulations, and have, as has invariably been the case in all previous collisions of the kind, got the worst of the encounter. That is to say, they have left no doubt in anybody's mind about the merits of their side of the case; but as Mr. Wanamaker has the administering of the regulations of his department, and as he is able to count upon the entire support of the President in whatever course he may adopt, he is able to snap his fingers at the Commissioners without fear of consequences. The Michigan case was substantially the same as that revealed in Chairman Hackett's first confidential circular in New York State. It was an attempt by the Republican State Committee to make the post-offices of the State an adjunct to the Republican campaign machinery. The language used on both occasions was the same, and was strikingly like that employed in Wanamaker's own circulars put forth by him early in his career as a public man, when he was using his Cabinet position to promote his clothing business. The Civil-Service Commissioners called Mr. Wanamaker's attention to the attempt of the Michigan Republican Committee to do what Mr. Hackett is doing, saying that it was contrary to the postal regulations, and adding that nobody could be discharged for refusing the Committee's request. Mr. Wanamaker's reply is that he regrets that he is "powerless to prohibit persons from making requests of this kind." He is not able to issue an order to all postmasters directing them to refuse to comply with such requests, and assuring them of his protection in such refusal. His reply is nothing less than a notification to the Hacketts of the Republican party that they need fear no interference from the head of the Post-office Department.

The appearance of the Attorney-General of the United States as private counsel in a case before the Federal Supreme Court is an extraordinary event, but Mr. Miller's performance last week was only in keeping with all the circumstances of the suit in which he appeared. This was the attempt of the Michigan Republicans to set aside the law passed by the Democratic Legislature last year under which the Presidential electors next month are to be chosen by districts. From first to last this assault upon the law has been characterized by the most ridicu-

lous features. It was started by ex-Congressman Cutcheon, who pronounced the bill "revolutionary in its character," and confessed an almost incredible ignorance of his country's history by saying that he was "not aware that any State since the foundation of this Government has ever departed from this rule, of choosing Presidential electors by the State at large," and that "never before, to my knowledge, has it been attempted to confer the power to appoint Presidential electors upon Congressional districts and vulgar fractions of a State."

The truth is, that at the very first Presidential election, in 1789, the State of Massachusetts adopted the district system, and that several other States chose electors by popular vote in the Congressional districts, exactly as is now proposed in Michigan, until well on in the present century. New York followed this practice as late as 1828, when twenty Jackson electors and sixteen for Adams were chosen, and Maryland did not abandon the system until 1832. It must be remembered that the district system was put into operation and maintained during the lifetime of the men who framed the Constitution; and the utter weakness of the present attack upon the Michigan statute was shown by this question, which Justice Gray addressed to the Attorney-General during the latter's argument:

"Do you find, Mr. Miller, that while the district system of choosing electors prevailed in some States, it was challenged at any time as being beyond the power of the Legislature?"

Mr. Miller was constrained to admit that he never heard of such a thing, and with this admission the case against the Michigan law fell to the ground. It was inconceivable that the Supreme Court should annul a law which is not only in pursuance of the constitutional provision that each State shall appoint its electors "in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct," but which follows a long line of early precedents established without any question on the part of a single framer of the Constitution. The Court has, in fact, promptly given a unanimous decision against the Attorney-General's view.

Mr. Blaine and Mr. Egan have been produced in the canvass at last, and their observations indicate clearly that the "Blaine Irishman" is intended to play a prominent part in it during the next two weeks. Mr. Blaine's address was short, and was, we believe, read from a manuscript to a crowd in front of the Hon. Whitelaw Reid's house in the country. He said simply a few words on the importance of the protective policy to both the manufacturing and agricultural interests of the country,

and, in answer to the charge that the tariff was establishing a plutocratic government, showed that the Hon. Whitelaw Reid's list of millionaires printed in the *Tribune* contained only two or three who had made their money in manufactures. He then encouraged the Irish to vote against "British free trade," but said not a word to the colored men about the Democratic attempt uncovered by the Hon. Whitelaw Reid to nullify the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Mr. Blaine's remarks, in fact, had all the marks of failing strength, and it seems a great pity that his friends should have allowed him to be dragged out in this way. Mr. Egan simply defended briefly his course in Chili, saying that he had merely followed his instructions, which were, of course, admirable and highly American. The speech of the occasion was Mr. Chauncey Depew's, of which the *Tribune* says: "The audience were kept laughing during most of Mr. Depew's remarks." He eulogized the Hon. Whitelaw Reid amid roars of laughter, eulogized Mr. Egan amidst similar merriment, and made the sides of his hearers actually ache over his account of Major McKinley. It is in this way that he renders his party the immense service of preventing its absurdities from being revolting by making them ludicrous.

When Mr. Wayne MacVeagh, in a brief letter recently published, announced his intention to vote for Cleveland, a number of Republican politicians, including Chris Magee, Dave Martin, and the chiefs of the Manufacturers' Club, could not imagine what his reasons were for such action, but were convinced that they were bad reasons. They allowed their curiosity to get the better of them to such an extent that Mr. MacVeagh felt called upon to state them at length and with particularity in a public speech on Saturday evening—a speech which has seldom been surpassed or equalled in the public debates of this country. The admirable logic of his argument is matched only by the high aim of his endeavor. The whole discourse has the ring of true patriotism, clear and unmistakable. Mr. MacVeagh is known to be no office-seeker or popularity-hunter. It is some years since his voice has been heard on the stump. In fact, his friends have a right to complain that he has kept such conspicuous oratorical gifts in the background. But one of the results of such abstinence is that when he does speak, he commands the widest and closest attention. Such attention his speech of Saturday will surely receive, and its effect upon the thinking and reasoning classes of the community must be very great. It is to be regretted that it was not delivered earlier, so that it might have had more extensive circulation as a campaign document.

Congressman Lodge figures in the list of "Harvard Men in Politics," of whom Mr. Theodore Roosevelt writes in the new *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, and of whom he says that to be a member of that noble band "a man must have in him a strong and earnest sense of duty and the desire to accomplish good for the commonwealth, without regard to the effect upon himself." Mr. Lodge's speeches in this campaign show how he is striving to live up to this praise. In Lynn he made an attack upon Mr. Cleveland for having, while Governor of this State, vetoed some of the more dangerous and preposterous of the bills then enacted, in the name of "Labor," and for killing, as President, the bill to turn the Bureau of Printing over to the Typographical Union. To endeavor thus to ingratiate himself with the Lynn operatives by playing the demagogue, proves how strong and earnest a sense of duty Mr. Lodge carries into politics. But the instance which showed conclusively his well-known lack of "regard to the effect upon himself" of his political utterances was his reference, in Springfield on October 11, to the article of Prof. Woolsey condemning the foreign policy of President Harrison, and which he ignorantly took to be a quotation from some work of President Woolsey's. Said Mr. Lodge, after quoting the passage cited in the address of the Massachusetts Independents: "If that does not mean, although carefully worded, to any fair-minded man who reads it, that President Woolsey uttered those words in criticism of President Harrison, then language contains no meaning." Then he went on triumphantly to show that President Woolsey died July 1, 1889, and therefore could not have been referring to the present Administration, and added with becoming indignation: "It is going beyond the limits of political warfare to use the words of the dead in such a way as to make them appear the condemnation and the criticism upon acts which occurred since death sealed their lips for ever." The best that can be said of this confusion of the two Woolseys is that it was a fearful blunder for a "scholar in politics" to make. The Independents have promptly pilloried him, and demanded that he withdraw his accusation of bad faith; it remains to be seen whether his lips will remain sealed for ever on this subject, as they have been upon his own Force Bill.

Thirty years ago a college professor who was a Democrat was a great rarity. Indeed, Prof. Shaler of Harvard recalls the time when he was the only man among all the professors and instructors at Harvard who usually voted the Democratic ticket, and the Republican preponderance was something like fifty to one. The disparity between the two parties at that period was about as marked at Yale as at Harvard. Now a large majority of the Yale

faculty are going to vote the Democratic national ticket, while among the Harvard faculty the sentiment in favor of Cleveland is still more nearly unanimous. Nothing else so vividly illustrates the transformation which has come over the Republican party as these revolutions of sentiment among the instructors at our two oldest universities.

The *Herald*, which has certainly not been a supporter of Cleveland in this campaign, has been making a preliminary canvass of the votes in the State of New York by means of special correspondents detailed for the purpose. The reports have been almost uniformly of one kind, showing a steady and unmistakable Democratic gain or Republican loss. The results were summed up editorially by the *Herald* on Monday. Although there is a shortage of campaign enthusiasm on both sides, the lack is "far more marked on the Republican than on the Democratic side." In three banner Republican counties in the Genesee Valley, which gave Harrison 4,569 plurality in 1888, "the most enthusiastic Republican does not think that this year it will be over 3,850." Cattaraugus and Chautauqua Counties gave pluralities of 2,413 and 5,930 respectively. "This year the Republicans claim only 2,200 and 5,800 respectively, while the Democrats concede but 2,000 and 5,400." In Orleans County a shrinkage of 163 is expected by the Republicans, and about double that number by the Democrats. A similar tale comes from Monroe County. "In Rochester, where the German vote is heavy, the tide is running towards Cleveland." Otsego County gave Harrison 857 plurality. "If it goes so by 600 this time, the result will surprise thinking men of both parties." The *Herald* concludes its review by saying that, "in the quarters so far heard from, the Republican tide seems to be falling and the Democratic rising." Remarkable confirmation of the *Herald's* estimate (which coincides with the recent observations of a correspondent of the *Evening Post*) is furnished by a staff correspondent of the *New York Press*, who is likewise making a canvass of the interior of the State.

The fading away of the silver issue is one of the unmistakable signs of the times. Hardly anybody talks about it now, except those who are engaged in the production of the metal. The discussion of the State bank-note question has probably contributed something towards the weakening of silver politics, by showing those who think that there is a shortage of money that there are other ways of supplying it than by paying a superior kind of money out of the Treasury to buy the material for making an inferior kind. It stands to reason that that process cannot make more money, or not much more. It can only make a different kind. The silver notes have to be redeemed in gold, just as green-

backs and national bank-notes are, unless we are to slide off the gold basis altogether—a policy which nobody avowedly favors at the present time. As the silver cannot be sold in order to redeem the silver notes, what is the use of having it at all? Why not issue the notes (if more money is needed) without buying a lot of bullion that we can do nothing with, but must find storage-room for at considerable expense? Mr. Edward Atkinson has shown in a recent paper that there has been an increase of railway tonnage since 1882 of 340,000,000 tons per annum. He estimates the property moved by railway to be worth \$20 per ton. If this is a correct estimate, the annual movement of property by railway is \$6,800,000,000 greater than it was in 1882. In so far as this is represented by bank deposits and bank clearings it does not call for any considerable increase of money, but in fact much of this increase has taken place in regions where there are no banks, and here additional money is required for additional business. Are the people of these regions, he asks, to be deprived of, or forbidden to provide themselves with, a circulating medium secured in such a way as they consider safe?

Mr. Atkinson continues:

"The effect of the prohibitory tax upon State bank-notes is to deprive States of the opportunity to serve themselves. It is a merely partisan pretence to say that this is a movement to go back to the 'wildcat' currency of fifty years ago.

"There is need of the adjustment of our circulating medium to the present conditions of our internal commerce; the first and essentially necessary step towards that adjustment is the repeal of this tax on State bank-notes. Otherwise, no Congress will be able to resist the cry for more money, either in the form of legal-tender notes, greenbacks, silver dollars, or some other kind of currency, probably of unsafe quality.

"Is it not an utter absurdity to assume that in these days of quick and ready communication a State bank can force an unsound and unsecure bank-note, which is not a legal tender, upon the community?"

There is the question in a nutshell. Either give the States, under suitable restrictions, the right to provide themselves with a currency, or their representatives in Congress will keep giving us silver until the gold basis is upset and we are sent sprawling along with Mexico, India, and China.

It is interesting to observe how quickly the popular sentiment in favor of the secret-ballot system silences the politicians whenever they raise an outcry against it. No sooner did it appear that the Republican majority in Vermont had fallen off about 10,000 at the first election under the Australian Ballot Law, than the Chairman of the Republican State Committee came out in his newspaper with a demand that the Legislature should repeal the law as soon as it met, and Republican organs throughout the State printed reports that there would be a strong movement in that direction. But the Legislature has met

and been in session a fortnight, and while various amendments to the law have been proposed, not a single member has ventured to introduce a proposition for its repeal. It will undoubtedly be the same way in Maine. In that State the passage of the law had been bitterly opposed by Congressman Boutelle of the Bangor *Whig and Courier*, on the ground that it was a "dangerous scheme" for the Republican party, and when the first election under it cut down the party's majority by many thousands, he resumed his assaults upon the system; but it is already obvious that there is no chance of his succeeding.

The City Reform Club has completed the preparation of its seventh annual 'Record' of the doings of our city Senators and Assemblymen at Albany, and the book will be ready for distribution within a few days. It has been prepared with the same painstaking care which has characterized its predecessors, and, like them, gives a compact mass of clear and trustworthy information which every citizen who wishes to vote intelligently ought to be glad to obtain. It gives, in addition to a complete account of each legislator's conduct, an explanation of the course of bills in the Legislature, an account of the lobby and its methods, a synopsis of the principal bills acted upon at the last session, and maps showing the boundaries of both the old and the new Senate and Assembly districts of the city. It is impossible to praise too highly the patient perseverance of the members of the City Reform Club in compiling this 'Record' year after year, giving their time and ability to it without other reward than a consciousness of public duty well performed, and finding in the general public very slight recognition of their work. They circulated 20,000 copies last year, and propose to circulate 50,000 this year, the expense of the publication being defrayed entirely by voluntary contributions from persons impressed with the importance of the work. No charge is made for the book, which can be obtained by application to the City Reform Club, at No. 47 Cedar Street.

The biographies and legislative doings of our last delegation to Albany which the book gives, are not pleasant reading. They show that out of the twenty-four Assemblymen who represented the city, twenty were Tammany Democrats who made almost uniformly bad records, some of them irredeemably bad. Four of them were liquor-dealers, but these appear to be no more objectionable as legislators than Tammany men of other occupations or of no occupations except politics. The only Tammany member who made what the Club's annotators are able to call a "fair record" was John Connelly of the old Nineteenth District. The three Republi-

can members, Messrs. Conkling, Hoag, and Wells, all made very good records, but as they were in a hopeless minority, they were not able to be of much service to the city. Some of the most pernicious of last year's Tammany members have not been renominated this year, but others of them have. One of the worst—Philip Wissig of the old Eighth District—has been dropped by Tammany only to be taken up by the County Democracy; a performance by the latter organization which goes far to explain its inability to obtain public confidence in either its sincerity or its usefulness as an anti-Tammany influence.

The *Iron Age* publishes an article by a naval officer on the results of the French shipping bounty laws during the ten years for which statistics are now available. These bounties were of two kinds—one for navigation and the other for building ships. The navigation bounties were 29 cents per ton per 1,000 miles for over-sea voyages for new ships, the amount decreasing slightly as the ship wears out. There was no bounty for ships going to European ports. The whole amount paid out of the Treasury for this sort of bounty was \$1,440,000 per annum. The result upon the whole registered merchant shipping of France, sail and steam, for the ten years has been an increase of fifty-two vessels and 24,715 tons. The writer of the article considers that the navigation bounties have been moderately successful, but he acknowledges that the ship-building bounty has been a failure. Of the 307,626 tons of iron or steel steamers built in France in ten years, 124,000 tons were for subsidized lines which are required by law to be built in the country, leaving 183,626 tons which were built under the bounty system in competition with English ship-yards. During the same period, 334,912 tons of steam-shipping were built in English yards for French ship-owners, notwithstanding the bounty of \$12 per ton to the French builder. Of iron sailing-vessels, 22,000 tons were built in French yards, and 49,000 tons, or more than twice as much, built or purchased abroad, for French ship-owners. This is certainly a discouraging outlook for the advocates of bounties, but, in the true McKinley spirit, they come up and ask for more. The only reason for the failure, they say, is that the bounty was not large enough. So they have set a committee of the Députés working over the subject and trying to redistribute the whole amount allowed for navigation and ship-building, so that some shall get a little more and some a little less of the taxpayers' earnings. But we predict that this plan will fall through, and that nobody will get any less, while some and probably all will get more; for was it not foretold by Merlin the Enchanter, in the time of Arthur and the Round Table, that Jacques Bonhomme would be easily cheated?

Early in the summer much discussion was had at a diocesan convention in England over the relation of the Church to the press, and the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, if we remember aright, advocated a wider utilization of the newspapers by the church authorities. It may be as a result that we have notice of the publication on October 1 of the *Illustrated Church News*. This is described as "a new church newspaper on popular lines." It is to be filled with "brief, vigorous articles, bright notes, pithy paragraphs"; is to contain "sketches of the clergy at work," "short stories," "amusing incidents," etc. All this looks ominous, and portends, we fear, not the elevation of journalism but the degradation of the other member of the partnership. It may be too late for a voice of friendly warning to reach the ear of the conductors of this "new departure," as it is advertised, in joining the "Church and the Press," but we can only tell them that, in this country at least, a paper described as theirs is would infallibly mean a new servant of the devil, not the Church. On the principle of not letting the devil have all the good music, it may be good policy not to let him have all the "bright notes" and "pithy paragraphs"; but he is a hard one to cheat in a bargain, and is very apt not only to keep the good things you want to get away from him, but to get away from you the good things you felt sure of keeping.

In the matter of thorough quarantine regulations Brazil holds the record. Her way is to fire upon incoming vessels and sink them outright. This surpasses the Colombian method of firing "a volley of bullets"; the aim being not to frighten away intruders, but to make them pay the just penalty of their temerity by sending solid shot through their hulls. On September 2 the English steamer *Chaucer* arrived off the port of Rio de Janeiro, and proceeded towards the Santa Cruz fort to exchange the customary signals. Fire was at once opened on her. After she was struck and in danger of foundering, the fort signalled to ask from what port she had sailed. This seems a little late, but everybody knows that there is nothing like taking the cholera in time. The captain of the steamer was then allowed to proceed to anchorage in the bay. We should think the artillerymen in the fort must have received a severe rebuke for having made such a mess of their work; at that short range the vessel should have been sunk at the first round. The next day a German steamer was fired on and got a shot through her rigging; this bad aim was excused when it was learned that she had five tons of dynamite on board. But these effective Brazilian measures make us blush for our own Quarantine. It is safe to say that the guns of Fort Hamilton could have sunk every "pest ship" that showed her nose in the Narrows.

PRESIDENTIAL CHANCES.

THE Presidential campaign enters upon its closing stages with a larger number of "doubtful" States to bother the political prophets than they have had in similar contests for many years. All authorities admit this, and all have reached that conclusion by studying the returns from the few State elections which have been held since the campaign began. The general effect of all these elections has been against Republican prospects in the nation, for they have shown that that party is weaker in the North than it has been in previous contests, and that it has made no headway in the South. The causes assigned by the Republicans themselves for the falling off in their party's strength in Vermont and Maine foreshadow similar losses in other Republican States in November, for the chief of them (the secret ballot and Republican apathy) will enter into the Presidential election in all of them. The Republicans must, therefore, confront in the election many more chances for defeat than they had reason to anticipate a few weeks ago, and many more such chances than will confront their opponents, whose prospects have been greatly improved by the demonstration that the solid South cannot be broken.

In order to see clearly what the chances on both sides are, let us divide the States, with their electoral votes, into the following groups:

SURELY DEMOCRATIC.

Alabama.....	11	Missouri.....	17
Arkansas.....	8	New Jersey.....	10
Delaware.....	3	North Carolina.....	11
Florida.....	4	South Carolina.....	9
Georgia.....	13	Tennessee.....	12
Kentucky.....	13	Texas.....	15
Louisiana.....	8	Virginia.....	12
Maryland.....	8	West Virginia.....	6
Michigan.....	4		
Mississippi.....	9	Total.....	173

SURELY REPUBLICAN.

California.....	9	Oregon.....	4
Colorado.....	4	Pennsylvania.....	32
Idaho.....	3	Rhode Island.....	4
Illinois.....	24	South Dakota.....	4
Kansas.....	10	Vermont.....	4
Maine.....	6	Washington.....	4
Michigan.....	10	Wyoming.....	3
Minnesota.....	9		
Nebraska.....	8	Total.....	161
Ohio.....	23		

DOUBTFUL.

Connecticut.....	6	New Hampshire.....	4
Indiana.....	15	New York.....	36
Iowa.....	13	North Dakota.....	3
Massachusetts.....	15	Wisconsin.....	12
Montana.....	3		
Nevada.....	3	Total.....	110

The full Electoral College comprises 444 votes, and 223 will be required to elect. It will be seen by the above classifications that the Democrats will need to gain 50 votes from the doubtful States to elect their candidates, and the Republicans will need to gain 62. We have placed all the Southern States in the Democratic list, and all of them are conceded to the Democrats with the exception of West Virginia, which is still claimed for the Republicans by some of their prophets, for the sole reason that "Steve" Elkins lives there and is devoting his personal energies, both

as a political manipulator and as a Cabinet Minister, to the carrying of it for Harrison and Reid. This reason for considering it doubtful does not strike us as sufficient to justify its transfer from the Democratic column. We have left Illinois in the Republican column, though there are not wanting reasons for considering it a doubtful State this year. We have also left South Dakota and Washington in that column, though they are not by any means absolutely assured to Harrison. All the ten States which we have placed in the doubtful column are there for reasons which are in most cases too well known to require statement here. Montana is put there because it is believed to be as uncertain a State as Connecticut or Indiana; and Nevada and North Dakota are put there because it is well-nigh certain that both of them will be lost to the Republicans on the silver issue. In all probability both of them will cast their electoral votes for Gen. Weaver, the candidate of the People's party.

When we come to consider the combinations by which the Democrats can secure the fifty votes necessary to elect their candidates we find the following:

Sure Democratic States.....	173
New York.....	36
Indiana or Massachusetts.....	15

Total..... 224

Sure Democratic States.....	173
New York.....	36
Iowa.....	13
Montana.....	3

Total..... 225

Sure Democratic States.....	173
New York.....	36
Wisconsin.....	12
Connecticut.....	6

Total..... 227

Sure Democratic States.....	173
Indiana.....	15
Massachusetts.....	15
Wisconsin.....	12
Iowa.....	13

Total..... 228

All these combinations are made on a basis of only four Democratic electoral votes in Michigan, the number which the Republicans concede. The Democrats claim that they will get more than this—from five to seven. Giving them five, this combination could be made:

Sure Democratic States.....	174
Indiana.....	15
Iowa.....	13
Massachusetts.....	15
Connecticut.....	6

Total..... 223

On the Republican side the following combinations are possible:

Sure Republican States.....	161
New York.....	36
Massachusetts or Indiana.....	15
Wisconsin.....	12

Total..... 224

Sure Republican States.....	161
New York.....	36
Massachusetts or Indiana.....	15
Iowa.....	13

Total..... 225

Sure Republican States.....	161
New York.....	36
Massachusetts.....	15
Connecticut.....	6
New Hampshire.....	4
Montana.....	3

Total..... 225

Sure Republican States.....	161
Massachusetts.....	15
Indiana.....	15
Iowa.....	13
Wisconsin.....	12
Connecticut.....	6
Montana.....	3

Total..... 225

Sure Republican States.....	161
Massachusetts.....	15
Indiana.....	15
Iowa.....	13
Wisconsin.....	12
New Hampshire.....	4
Montana.....	3

Total..... 223

It will be observed that victory for either party will be comparatively easy with the thirty-six votes of New York, and more or less difficult without those votes. With them the Democrats are surer of winning than the Republicans, as our combinations show. In all the Republican combinations without New York, Indiana is an absolute necessity for success, together with Massachusetts, Iowa, and Wisconsin; yet Indiana is to day an almost certain Democratic State. The chances for the Democrats carrying it are excellent, as they are for their carrying New York. With these two States added to their column, the Democrats will have an easy victory, and if they lose both, they will have at least as many chances for success as their opponents. It is possible, of course, that the People's party may develop just enough strength in the new States to prevent either Cleveland or Harrison from getting a majority of the Electoral College, in which case the election will go to the House of Representatives and Cleveland will be chosen President.

A FAIR ELECTION IN NEW YORK.

WHATEVER else may be said of the decision of the Court of Appeals sustaining the constitutionality of the new Apportionment Act, it cannot be denied that it is in the interest of an honest and fair election contest in this State next November. If the court had refused to uphold the act, and had made it necessary thereby to hold the election under the old Apportionment Act, the Republican managers would have been furnished with precisely the thing they have been most anxious to obtain—that is, a basis for a "deal." The old act, which was passed in 1879, is confessedly a more unfair and partisan measure than the new act, but its partisan injustice is all in favor of the Republicans. Under its operation they have been able repeatedly to secure a majority in the Legislature though the Democrats have, in the same elections, carried the State by a large majority. If the Court of Appeals had upset the new act, and if the election in No-

vention were to be held under the act of 1879, the Republicans would have now by far the better prospects for securing control of the Assembly by a sufficient majority to overcome the Democratic majority of two in the Senate, and thus give them a majority on joint ballot and enable them to elect a United States Senator to succeed Mr. Hiscock.

This would be an ideal situation for a "deal," and the Republican attack upon the Apportionment Act was inspired by a hope of securing it. The Republican managers believed that if they were able to offer control of the Legislature and a United States Senatorship in return for votes for Harrison, they would have no difficulty in finding a market for their wares. Whether they were correct or not in this supposition is immaterial now; they cannot even attempt their bargain, since they have nothing to offer. The Democrats will be able to get control of the Assembly easily—there are no State Senators to be chosen this year—by a sufficient majority to give them the United States Senatorship, and they will not be tempted to sacrifice their national ticket in order to do so. The agreement of both political parties upon Judge Andrews, as a common candidate for Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals, is another step in the same direction. There will be no opportunity whatever for a "deal" on that office; and as there will be no other State candidate in the field, there will be no basis for a "deal" anywhere.

It is undoubtedly this aspect of the case which leads the Republicans to take such an unfavorable view of the Court of Appeals decision. They say it is a "humiliating" spectacle which a great court presents when it divides on party lines, and we quite agree with them; but the spectacle is not a new one, and in this instance there are extenuating circumstances which may be said fairly to mitigate the humiliation. We have only to contemplate the effects of a contrary decision to realize how much more partisan that would have been, and how much more serious would have been its results. As Judge Peckham points out in the majority opinion, the justice of the new apportionment has been questioned by only two of the sixty counties in the State, all others having acquiesced in it and arranged their districts in accordance with its demands. Then, too, if this act had been declared void in the very last days of the legal period for making nominations, the whole State would have been thrown into a condition of political chaos. It has been assumed that the election, in case of an adverse decision, would be held under the act of 1879, but this is by no means a certainty. As Judge Peckham's opinion says, the new act much more nearly approaches fairness and equality than its predecessors, and yet none of the latter has been brought before the courts. He goes on to say:

"Every county in the State but the two, be-

fore us has acquiesced in the requirements of the act and apportioned its members among the towns and wards of the county or city, and done everything necessary to proceed to an election under its provisions. The greatest confusion and disorder would result from holding that this act is invalid. Whether any member of Assembly could actually be elected under any other law at this late day is quite problematical. The spectacle of a Legislature elected under an unconstitutional law, or part of the members elected under it and part under another, is one which ought not to be contemplated without the greatest anxiety by all honest citizens. When we come to the question of what law is in force in this State, if the law of 1892 is not, the situation becomes most alarming. The same reasoning which would set aside and void the act of 1892 would be still more powerful and cogent as showing the total invalidity of the act of 1879. This might relegate the people to the act of 1866, and thus we might have an attempt to have an election for members of Assembly under an act more than a quarter of a century old, and the Legislature representative of the people of that time. This would be a travesty on law and upon all ideas of equality, propriety, and justice."

As a matter of fact, the new apportionment, with the exception of the objections raised in two counties, is, as such acts go, an unusually fair division of the State, and is, as compared with the act which it supplants, a miracle of fairness. It ill becomes the Republicans, who had possession of the Legislature for years under the gerrymander of the old act, and who used their power in a perfectly shameless manner to deprive the Governor of his constitutional right of appointment, to make complaints of the new act and its effects. They have really had no right to the control of the Legislature for fully ten years. They have lost the power to control it longer at a very critical time for them; but as the loss is in the interest of a fair election in the State, they will find few sympathizers with them in their lamentations.

THE GOSPEL OF HATRED.

THERE is probably nothing in the present attitude of the Republican party which would more astonish the founders of the republic than the pride and satisfaction the leaders take in being hated by the civilized world outside of the United States. Mr. Depew's eulogy at Ophir Farm on Major McKinley showed that, in the orator's opinion, McKinley's eminence as a statesman was due principally to the fact that he was an object of greater detestation in England, France, Germany, and Italy than any other person in any one of these countries; or, in other words, that in the eyes of about 150,000,000 of the most civilized portion of the human race, the Major occupied the place hitherto reserved for the worst criminals—that is, pirates, wanton murderers, parricides, and train wreckers. This was said, too, by way of commending McKinley to the love and admiration of a large body of American (presumably) Christians, assembled at the house of the editor of the leading Republican newspaper, and for the purpose of inducing them to vote for a man so dominated by Christian principles that he has family prayer in the car when making long journeys by railroad.

The expectation of the founders of the American Commonwealth, and it is safe to say of most of their descendants until now, was that the new State would differ from the Old World in making the love and admiration, instead of the "dread and envy," of the foreigner the great aim of its foreign policy. Said Washington in the Farewell Address:

"Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free and enlightened and at no distant period a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it?"

If this policy has not ever since been pursued by politicians, it has at all events been kept in mind as a standard or ideal by the great bulk of the American people. It has been taught in schools and colleges as essentially the American rule of conduct, to be striven after and lived up to in so far as the weaknesses of human nature will permit. It was reserved for the Republican party to make the foreigners' hatred of him in time of profound peace a sign of an American statesman's success and a guarantee of his value to his own countrymen. If Washington and Franklin had been told that in 1892 an American public man would present as a title to popular respect and confidence the fact that the civilized world put him in the category which jurists call "enemies of the human race," they would have driven the prophet from their presence as a foul libeller of the young nation.

The Republican doctors, however, are not content with alleging that the civilized world hates McKinley as a reason why we should love him. It might be that they hated him through misapprehension or misinformation about his character and exploits, and therefore did him wrong, so that we should be justified in liking him and standing by him as the victim of gross injustice. To guard against this view, our Republican Christians take pains to show that McKinley has deserved the hatred of foreigners—that is, that he has really inflicted on them injuries which have in all places and in all ages called forth the bitterest hostility of which unregenerate human nature is capable. The Republican newspapers, and particularly the *Tribune*, reproduce every day or two, with a sort of diabolical glee, accounts of the suffering which the McKinley Bill is producing among the working classes in England and on the Continent—not only of embarrassment among the capitalists, but of hunger and despair among the artisans. The Republican orators do the same thing. The comments by which these stories of human misery are accompanied indicate a kind of satisfaction which, as we said a few weeks ago, has hitherto been consider-

ed peculiar to devils in hell, and which civilized men, even in time of war, are usually ashamed to show touching the condition of non-combatant enemies.

Many of these stories are manufactured for campaign purposes. We do not believe that the damage the McKinley Bill has done in Europe is as great as its supporters say it is; nor do we believe Mr. Depew's story about the hatred expended on McKinley. It is ridiculous on its face. The value of these tales lies mainly in the indication they afford of the moral condition of the party which was once supposed to contain the greater part of the "virtue and intelligence of the country." They are appeals to what is lowest and basest in human nature, to a selfishness which would disgrace a brigand's cave and a shamelessness rarely found except among habitual criminals. For McKinley's greatness really rests on nothing but the misery he has caused, or can persuade people he has caused, to his fellow-men. His mental equipment is of the very slenderest; his knowledge of his own subject even is hardly discernible. He is neither eloquent nor magnetic nor well informed. If he has not made the children of poor Austrian pearl-button-makers cry with hunger, or made the Welsh tin-makers spend their savings or pawn their furniture, he is nothing but the name of a bill which half his own countrymen look on as wicked and silly.

The ferocity which these Republican doctrines are well calculated to infuse into all trade disputes, too, is well worthy of the attention of all serious and patriotic men. There is nothing to-day causing more uneasiness in the political and economical world than the disposition of the working classes to treat all competitors or rivals in business as enemies, whose lives may justifiably be threatened, and whose property may be lawfully destroyed. Every newspaper one opens contains accounts of murders or outrages, or arson or pillage, caused by the notion that anybody who offers a commodity at a lower price than yours, or who refuses to give you your price for your commodity, may be lawfully set upon and put in terror of his life. Nothing that occurs in our time seems to put our civilization in such peril as these disputes. How to extinguish this savage view of business relations is a problem now engaging the best attention of politicians and philanthropists all over the world. But consider for a moment the tremendous stimulus which must be given to this view by the appearance in America, of all countries on earth, of a party which solemnly holds up everybody who offers to undersell you in the market as a personal enemy, whose misery and ruin it is the highest duty of a Christian statesman to compass, and the wretchedness of whose home is a spectacle over which a Christian community may lawfully gloat.

BOS LOCUTUS EST.

THE Union League Club has prepared and published the profoundest paper on the tariff which has yet appeared in any quarter. It appeared in full in the *Tribune* of Friday. With a large part of it all but the utterly depraved will cordially agree. Nobody, for instance, but a man lost to shame and decency will deny that

"the most vital function of a government is the power to raise money for its support. A government's existence depends upon its possession of this power, and the exercise of the power must go on or the government will fail. Whatever difference of opinion there may be as to forms of government, all have this corner-stone in common. Political economists may differ as to the method of raising the money, but all agree as to the basis upon which the political structure we call a civil government must stand."

A government which could not raise money would certainly be in a bad way. The Union League certainly does not go too far in saying that a government which cannot raise money for its support "will fail." This is, as the report well remarks, the common "corner-stone" of all schools of political economy. But it is a truth which is often hidden away by sophists from the popular gaze. One of the greatest services which a wealthy and perspicacious body like the Union League renders to the country is the production and confirmation, at stated intervals, of these elementary truths of political science for popular inspection.

"Revenue-reformers are constantly talking about a protective tariff as if it were a tax for the benefit of a favored class." What is the explanation of this? Simply that they lie, "as they well know." How do we know that they lie? Simply by observing that "the impost is for the support of the Government, and to enable it to perform its functions without levying a like amount in some other form on the people." We wish the Committee had made this argument just a trifle clearer, because it was at one time used by the Dey of Algiers, who used to meet the complaints of his Christian captives by pointing out that he needed their property for the maintenance of his Government; and that what they considered "plunder" they would on more mature reflection perceive to be an "impost," paid, as all imposts ought to be paid, by the foreigner. The Christians always said there was a fallacy somewhere in this statement, but whenever they attempted to analyze it publicly, he cut off debate by applications to the soles of their feet.

We are extremely sorry to hear from the same source that "the phrase revenue tariff" is "the most elastic and inaccurate that ever crept into the political history of this country." The reason why it is "elastic and inaccurate" is "that it does not express a certain policy." "A revenue tariff may be a good protective tariff, or may be a very bad protective tariff, and yet produce the same result in furnishing money for the Government." But must we not make the same complaint of the term "pro-

protective tariff," for we see here that a "protective tariff" may be really a bad one, although furnishing money for the Government? So that when a Union League economist tells us that he is for a "protective tariff," he does not express a policy at all. He may be, for aught we know, for a tariff that is really a revenue tariff, and does not protect at all, or protects badly. To get at his true meaning we should have to question him, just as we have to question the revenue-tariff man.

"The Democrats," says the report, "have never yet agreed upon a definition of the phrase 'revenue tariff.'" But it does not furnish the orthodox definition of the term "protective tariff." Where is this to be found? Who has it? We solemnly declare, in the true and natural meaning of the words, that we do not know where to look for it. It is not to be found in this report, or in any tariff which has been enacted since the war, because each one has been declared, after trial, unsatisfactory and not truly protective by the protectionists themselves, and another substituted in its place.

We dare say there are Union Leaguers innocent enough to step forward at this point and say that the true definition of a protective tariff is a tariff that enables the domestic manufacturer to obtain higher prices than the foreigner for his goods in the home market; that, in short, a true protective tariff produces an artificial dearness, which dearness is a good thing both for the manufacturer and for the consumer. This was the view of President Harrison, Major McKinley, Mr. Cabot Lodge, ex-Speaker Reed, and other eminent protectionists in 1888 and 1890. A good protective tariff was a tariff which made things dear, and this the McKinley tariff was to do. We accepted this definition and sighted our artillery accordingly. We opened on dearness as a bad thing, the destruction of which has been the great end and aim of civilization from the invention of the bow and the boomerang down to our own day. We sought to show, in our humble way, that excessive dearness of commodities—that is, difficulty or impossibility of obtaining them—had at one time kept man in a state of savagery; that it was the growing cheapness of the good things of life which had made possible the appearance on earth of the modern civilized American or Englishman. Waxing warm in the discussion, we pointed out to the learned Lodge and the discursive McKinley, that their view that the more a man spent for his necessities, the better off he was, and that the great aim of the patriot should be to make things costly to his countrymen, would necessitate not only a total revolution in our economical but in our moral ideas, for it would make extravagance a virtue and remove all discredit from debt.

But now we find our labor was in vain and that our guns were wrongly sighted.

For here come the Union League sages, who say:

"According to the theories of the free-traders and tariff-reformers, if the protective tariff is removed from industries that we can prosecute in this country, the cost of the article will be cheaper to the consumer. This is the whole burden of their argument. Experience shows that the theorists are wrong as to the effect of a protective tariff on prices to consumers. It may be put down as a general proposition, established by the experience of the last forty years, that whenever the foreign manufacturers have had our markets, the consumer has paid higher prices for his goods than he has paid after our domestic industries were established under a protective policy. Upon this point we may challenge the experience of the great body of the consumers throughout the land. Let them reflect in their own minds upon the prices formerly paid by them for various articles in every-day use, and the prices they now pay for the same articles, and they will be convinced. If there are any exceptions to this rule, they are so rare as not to abate from the force of the rule as a general proposition."

So a protective tariff is, after all, not a tariff that makes things dear, but a tariff which brings domestic prices down nearly to the foreign level, and makes it difficult for the manufacturer to pay those famous "higher wages." The man who could extract a "policy" from these conflicting definitions would be a far more dexterous person than the Union League economists pretend to be. There is probably nothing that would puzzle them so much to-day as to produce a theory of protection on which they could agree among themselves, or get the party to adopt. This probably accounts for their hostility to "theories," which they say "have always had to go down before the logic of facts," being apparently in that early stage of dunderheadism which considers "theory" a synonym for pure speculation, and does not know that all human plans and policy have to have a theory behind them, and that what mainly distinguishes a man from the animals is that he always acts on a theory. The protectionist manufacturer has, moreover, an exceedingly well-defined theory, and has unfortunately got it embodied in legislation, and "the logic of facts" does not make the slightest impression on it. That theory is, that if he can get Congress to keep up the price of his goods artificially, it will be a good thing for him certainly, and possibly not a bad thing for other people.

WORKINGMEN AND THE TARIFF.

"WHAT right," asked Senator Sherman in his Cooper Union speech, "has the Democratic party to speak in behalf of laboring men?" This is about the same thing as asking what right laboring men have to speak in their own behalf. As the Chairman of the Democratic Convention in Massachusetts said the other day, the Democratic party is largely made up of workingmen, and has always been guided by their counsels. This is an undoubted fact. It is probably well within the truth to say that two-thirds of the laboring men of the great industrial regions of this country are politically allied to the Democratic party. The recent awaking of that

party to the need of fighting the abuses of the tariff has been due in good part to the perception that they weigh most injuriously upon the toilers of the land; and the latter have repeatedly shown by their votes in the last three years that they are more and more inclined to agree with this view.

Yet the Republican party has long been committed to the position that it knew better what was good for the workingman than he did himself. It may be something more than a coincidence that Hamilton's leaning towards a protective policy was associated with his profound distrust of the common people. At any rate the two things have since been often seen in suggestive union. President Harrison in one of his messages referred offensively, if unconsciously, to what "we" could not allow "our working people" to be subjected to. In short, the general Republican and protectionist attitude to-day, as regards the laboring classes, is one of assumed tutelage and guardianship over them. This attitude has been based upon certain suppositions which have at last been shown to be so false that workingmen can be no longer deceived by them.

The first false supposition is that protection is primarily for the benefit of the laboring men, or that employers can be depended upon to make a fair division with their workmen of their profits due to tariff taxes. Even Senator Sherman admits that there is a difficulty here. He says: "I know sometimes that in the distribution of the results of protection there is controversy between the employer and the employed. . . . I am not wise enough to see any way by which this could be settled. . . . If some wise statesman can devise a mode by which that distribution should be more fairly made, I would gladly hail him as one of the benefactors of our human race." With this may be put the view of the great expert in the theory and practice of protection, Prof. R. E. Thompson. He admits that trade-unions do more than protection to raise wages, but maintains that, if protection did not enrich manufacturers, it would not be possible for strikers to frighten them into yielding a part of their profits. As he puts it: "You cannot get blood out of a stone." So his advice to workingmen is to keep on voting money into the pockets of their employers, and then make as hard a fight as possible to compel the disgorging of a part of it. Nothing could more clearly mark the final break-down of the "benevolent" theory of protection, which assumes that if manufacturers are voted a large bonus, they will have a tender regard for their employees, and all will dwell together in Arcadian happiness.

Another unfounded assumption, which is more and more losing its power over workingmen, is, that it is possible for the great majority of them to be protected. They are coming to see that, even granting that what the Republicans say of the

blessings of protection is all true, those blessings cannot in the nature of the case be extended to all of their class, and that to vote for the benefit of a favored few is unjust, even if those few be workingmen. The occupations of the people of this country, as classified in the census of 1880, fall under the following general groups: Professional and personal service, 4,074,238; trade and transportation, 1,810,256; agriculture, 7,670,493; manufacturing, mechanic arts, and mining, 3,837,112. Now, the slightest consideration suffices to show that in but one of these groups, amounting to only about 20 per cent. of the total, is it possible for a tariff on imports to have any effect in raising wages or salaries. And even in the manufacturing group, it has been estimated by Edward Atkinson, "it is difficult to set apart in a discriminating list over 1,000,000 whose product is such that one of like kind could be imported, even if there were no duty upon imports." The same careful writer takes up the case of Pennsylvania in detail, and shows that in that State "less than 12 per cent. of the people who did the work could, in 1880, be subjected in part to an import of a product of like kind." The question he asks is the one that is coming to be heard with frequency in the mouths of workingmen, "How can we protect the 88 per cent.?"

Finally, the increasing alienation of the labor vote from the Republican party is due to the breaking down of the assumption that, even in the small group for which alone it is possible to make a pretence of securing higher wages by protection, the tariff does what is claimed for it. Senator Carlisle showed from the results reached by the Senate Finance Committee that wages in non-protected industries had risen, while in protected industries they had fallen. Mr. Schoenhof has some carefully tested tables of comparative wages which prove that the difference between wages in this country and Europe is greater in trades not affected by protection than in those that are. For example, in the building trades the hourly wages paid in three different countries are, in cents, as follows:

	Germany.	England.	New York.
Bricklayers.....	8½	16	45
Stonemasons.....	8½	16 to 18	45
Carpenters.....	7½	16	30 to 35

No such enormous difference in wages, over both protected Germany and free-trade England, can be shown in any industry where protection has any influence. The inference is unavoidable that it is not protection which makes the difference in wages, and that, viewed purely from the workingman's standpoint, its only effect upon wages is to diminish their purchasing power.

ENGLISH AT HARVARD, AND ELSEWHERE.

THE size to which our college classes have grown, with a steady annual increase, is putting a severe strain upon the capacity to house, handle, and instruct

them. To one branch at least of instruction it is nothing less than formidable—we mean that of English. This is forcibly displayed in a report of the Committee on Composition and Rhetoric to the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, just made public. In what is called English A—a prescribed course for all freshmen—more than 6,000 compositions have to be criticised every half-year and returned for rewriting, while the number of separate exercises annually handed in to all the instructors of the English Department is estimated at 38,000. The themes in English A are “of the most elementary description,” and the examination and correction of them in the most cursory manner not only exacts a prodigious amount of time, but produces a mental stupefaction which seriously interferes with the rate at which they can be despatched. No one accustomed to editing manuscript need be told that, under the most favorable conditions of penmanship, style, and matter, the drudgery is immense. At Harvard, as the Committee demonstrate, the unhappy instructors are confronted with immature thoughts set down in a crabbed and slovenly hand, miserably expressed and wretchedly spelled; and yet the average age of admission is nineteen.

In order to fix the responsibility of the preparatory schools for such a state of things, the Committee summoned each of last year's freshmen to write down in the class-room answers to these questions: What was the number and nature of written exercises at the school where he was fitted? What was the relative amount of time devoted there to English composition? Did the applicant pass the Harvard entrance examination in English? Some 450 confessions were thus obtained, and upon these the Committee report by a representative selection covering about forty institutions, the names of which are withheld, though in a few instances they may be guessed with certainty. A two-fold practice has been pursued: the answers are printed where it seems desirable, or else they are given in reduced facsimile; and the facsimiles speak volumes. Purposely, and not unfairly, these have been chosen by the Committee from among the worst specimens, for the aim is to show the deficiencies in preliminary instruction which the preparatory schools ought to be called upon to repair, with a view in the end to relieving the college of all elementary work in composition and rhetoric. The exhibit is enough to raise a blush on the cheek of every principal who reads the report—and the Board of Overseers will take care that none go unsupplied. But the public at large will never fathom the depths of the prevailing neglect of our mother tongue until a corresponding exhibit is made of the proficiency of the graduating class at Harvard; for then it will appear how little is and probably can be done in four years of the higher education to overcome the illiteracy which is brought to college.

The applicants of 1892 were no better equipped than their immediate predecessors. Nearly one-half of those examined in June last either passed unsatisfactorily or were conditioned. The Committee plainly recommend a still greater rigor of examination until the preparatory schools are forced to put English on its proper footing, even at the expense of a sudden check to the growth of the college and the addition of a year to the preparation of the first victims of the change of standard. Should this course be adopted, the schools will certainly respond, as they have heretofore done in divers particulars. It is, indeed, manifest that they have followed but too closely the indications of the college as to English; and have at most taught only so much as would insure passing, with no view to general culture. The Committee now bid them teach the vernacular—i. e., the written English—“as an incident, and not as an end.” They hold up as an example one school in which “the preparation of English was carried out in every other subject.” “My translations from other languages,” says a pupil, “were carefully criticised for their English; my geometry propositions I have rewritten many times on account of poor English.” In the words of the Committee: “If, as a part of the necessary school discipline, the scholar were compelled to use his pen instead of his tongue for one or two hours a day, what skill in composition [we should say *expression*] would he not attain?”

This is the substance of the Committee's finding and recommendations. They do, indeed, perceive that the preparatory schools, in order to distribute the burden sought to be thrust upon them, must in turn cry out against the grammar school and the primary school. But the difficulty increases as we descend the scale of age, of text-books, and of qualified teachers; and if the Harvard movement really succeeds, it will prove the best form of “university extension” yet known. For this reason the report ought to make its way to every Normal School as well as to the academies. Nine-tenths of our public-school children never go beyond the grammar school, and it ought to be discreditable to graduate them at fifteen with no better command of their native language than is evidenced by these Harvard facsimiles of the work of men of nineteen; yet we must suppose them more badly off. It is this consideration which will most impress students of the report, and will, we hope, lead to a widespread discussion of the causes of the evil complained of, as well as of the proper remedies. When the Committee say, “It is little less than absurd to suggest that any human being who can be taught to talk, cannot likewise be taught to compose,” we do not understand them to mean more than that writing can be made as correct as habitual speech. How large a part “compositions” will play in such a consummation, they

wisely refrain from arguing. Some will be disposed to maintain that this exercise (according to the methods now in vogue) and the typical text-books of English grammar have been the chief obstacles to the delightful pursuit of the English language and literature by children of all ages.

Correspondence.

A HOUSE-TO-HOUSE PRIMARY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Democratic Committee of Louisville has taken a step further in the ballot-reform movement than has ever been attempted before in this country—so far as I am informed—on anything like a large scale. A house-to-house canvas, combined with an iron-clad system of secret voting, promises apparently the utmost fairness possible in a *primary* election. This experiment was tried on October 12 and 13. The suffrage was limited to those persons only who had voted in August, 1891, for John Young Brown, the present Democratic Governor. The scheme was arranged in somewhat of a hurry, and, consequently, there being hardly time to provide a system of transfers, those voters who had removed from their former precincts necessarily lost their votes, in almost every case. This was the only actual injustice committed, and will no doubt be remedied on the next trial.

The first attempt was certainly a great success, since it secured 8,350 votes out of a possible 13,000, and this number includes a far larger proportion of respectable citizens than can ever be persuaded to mix themselves with the dirt and corruption of the ordinary party primary. But there is one terrible difficulty in the successful working of the system, which will be understood after an explanation of the *modus operandi*. Each candidate for a nomination—in this case there were five candidates for two offices—is entitled to appoint a representative in each precinct, and to the committee formed of those who report as such are intrusted the ballot-box, ballots, etc., together with a list of voters. They set out together, and visit the residences of the voters on their list, and are required to faithfully hunt up each one if possible. When a person is found desirous of voting, his name is written on a stub, the ballot torn off, marked by him in private, placed by him in an envelope which is then clasped shut by one of the committee, the number on a projecting subsidiary stub is compared to that on the main stub and torn off, and the voter deposits the enveloped ballot in the box. It will be observed that the desideratum of fairness and secrecy is attained by the system, and bribery is absolutely prevented, if it is faithfully carried out. But there comes the rub. The recent election had the attraction of novelty, a number of good men were induced to take part in it, and the result was probably nearer a true expression of the people's will than could have been obtained in any other mode. However, while the convenience of the voter is raised almost to the rank of a luxury, on the other hand the labor imposed on the 120 representatives of each candidate is arduous in the extreme. Trudging back and forth, enduring abuse and ridicule, explaining the system for the intelligent citizen to the verge of hoarseness, from three to nine o'clock on two successive days—these are hardly the attractions to offer to gentlemen of ordinary patriotism (no party principle being in-

volved) unless in case of close personal friendship with the respective candidates. The opinion is therefore very general that the carrying of the ballot-boxes will fall into the hands of the bum and professional politician, and, in that event, the mind stops aghast at the endless possibilities of fraud. One need only consider the chance of one representative's selling out to the other, and the result of the election in that precinct would be a foregone conclusion. And so on to the end of the chapter.

However, *Nil desperandum* I understand to be the motto of the ballot-reformers; perhaps experience will point out a remedy for this apparently formidable defect in the system.

A. L. D.

LOUISVILLE, October 15, 1892.

THE HEAT AND THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Leicester Ford's extract from the Diary of Jefferson, showing the low range of the thermometer at Philadelphia, July 4, 1776, printed in the October *Scribner*, and quoted in No. 1424 of the *Nation*, undoubtedly disposes of the tradition referred to so far as relates to Independence Day; but the story given on page 191 of Jefferson's 'Life' by Parton—presumably Mr. Ford's "one of our popular history writers"—relates to "the final signing of the Declaration of Independence," which took place on the 2d of August—a day far more likely to be hot and infested with flies than the 4th of July. It is true that Parton refers the story to the 4th of July; but whatever else may be in dispute, there is no doubt—for all are agreed—that the final signature of the engrossed copy was on the 2d of August. Therefore, unless Mr. Ford can give us other "cool facts" for that day—and even if he can—the tradition will survive; for, in our unromantic early history, piquant personal anecdotes are rare and not readily given up by their readers.

C.

CHelsea, MASS., October 15, 1892.

TINTORETTO'S ST. MARK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Allow me to correct a statement in Mr. Stillman's recent article in the *Century* on Tintoretto. There is no such picture in Santa Maria dei Angeli at Murano as the "Finding of the Body of St. Mark," described by Mr. Stillman. That canvas, forming part of a series with the ones now in the Royal Palace at Venice, has been, ever since the days of the Napoleonic kingdom of Italy, in Milan. It is catalogued in the Brera under the number 233, and has been photographed by Marcozzi of Milan.

B. B.

VENICE, October 4, 1892.

Notes.

A MEMOIR of the late Professor of Modern History at Oxford, Mr. E. A. Freeman, is about to be taken in hand. Friends who may be willing to contribute letters, reminiscences, or other biographical materials, are invited to forward them as soon as possible to the Rev. Prebendary Stephens (Woolbeding Rectory, Midhurst, Sussex, England), who, at the request of Mr. Freeman's family, has undertaken to edit the work.

We understand that Dr. Elliott Coues's edition of Lewis and Clarke's Narrative will prob-

ably fill three stately octavos, a fourth being required for the maps and index.

J. B. Lippincott Co. have in press 'Persian Tales,' edited in two volumes by Justin H. McCarthy; and 'The History and the Theory of Money,' by Sidney Sherwood of the Wharton School of Finance and Economy.

D. Appleton & Co. have in preparation a fine illustrated edition of Émile Souvestre's 'An Attic Philosopher in Paris,' in English, the designs by Jean Claudé; also, 'Three Centuries of English Love-Songs,' edited by Ralph Caine; a new edition of the late W. H. Herndon's 'Abraham Lincoln,' with an introduction by Horace White; 'Zachary Taylor,' by Maj.-Gen. O. O. Howard, in the "Great Commanders" series; 'North America, Vol. III., The United States,' by Elisée Reclus; 'Man and the Glacial Period,' by Prof. G. Frederick Wright; 'Appletons' Atlas of Modern Geography'; 'Moral Instruction of Children,' by Felix Adler; 'English Education in the Elementary and Secondary Schools,' by Isaac Sharpless; a translation of Rousseau's 'Émile,' by W. H. Payne; and 'Idle Days in Patagonia,' by C. H. Hudson, author of 'The Naturalist in La Plata.'

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. announce further 'The Nature and Elements of Poetry,' by Edmund C. Stedman; 'At the Beautiful Gate, and Other Songs of Faith,' by Lucy Larcom; and 'The Change of Attitude towards the Bible,' by Prof. Thayer.

Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. will publish immediately 'Missionary Landscapes in the Dark Continent,' by James Johnston.

From Macmillan's latest list we extract 'The Beauties of Nature, and the Wonders of the World We Live In,' by Sir John Lubbock, with illustrations; 'Life in Ancient Egypt,' from the German of Prof. Erman, by Mrs. Tirard; 'Sketches of Life and Character in Hungary,' by Margaret Fletcher; 'The English Town in the Fifteenth Century,' by Alice Stopford Green; 'The City State of Greek and Roman Antiquity,' by W. Warde Fowler; 'A Relic of the Past: Memorials of Sutton Place, Guilford,' by Frederic Harrison; 'The Inns of Court,' by W. J. Loftie, illustrated by Herbert Railton and others; 'Gothic Architecture,' edited from the French of E. Corroyer by Walter Armstrong, with 238 illustrations; 'Studies in Modern Music: Berlioz, Schumann and Wagner,' by W. H. Hadow; 'The Life of Cardinal Manning,' by E. S. Purcell; 'English Prose Writers,' in five volumes, by Henry Craik; and 'The Purgatory of Dante,' in verse, by C. L. Shadwell. The same firm will publish early in November Lord Tennyson's new volume of poems, uniform with their edition of his 'Foresters.' It is entitled 'The Death of Cænone, Akbar's Dream, and Other Poems,' and the contents, with one exception, are quite new, including the lines entitled 'The Silent Voices,' which the poet wrote and dedicated to his wife but a few days before his death, and which were sung at the funeral services in Westminster Abbey to music written by Lady Tennyson.

Elkin Mathews & John Lane, London, are about to issue six essays on 'The Art of Thomas Hardy,' by Lionel Johnson, with a bibliography by John Lane; 'Excursions in Criticism,' by William Watson; 'Stephanie: a Tragedy,' by Michael Field; and 'Silhouettes,' poems by Arthur Symonds.

'Mansfield Park' is the latest addition to the charming reprint of Jane Austen's novels edited by R. Brimley Johnson, and well illustrated by William C. Cooke (London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan). It is in two of the little pale-green volumes.

The new edition of Miss Strickland's 'Lives of the Queens of England' which we receive from J. B. Lippincott Co. in eight handsomely bound volumes, is, we believe, the amplest yet manufactured on this side of the water. It is illustrated, somewhat sparingly, with portraits of the queens and with desirable photo-mechanical views of buildings and places. The letterpress is in fair print.

The same publishers have brought out in five volumes Lord Mahon's edition of the Earl of Chesterfield's Letters, with a strict chronological arrangement. The typography of this reprint is more open than that of the foregoing, and the binding more studied—white and gold backs with wine-colored sides. Both sets make an attractive bid for a place in "every gentleman's library."

A large folio volume, sumptuous to a degree which makes the term "popular edition" seem somewhat incongruous, describes 'The Life and Works of Jean Léon Gérôme' (Cassell). The author, Fanny Field Hering, is a devoted admirer of the great painter and sculptor, and had the advantage of a friendship with him which makes her work "authorized." Gérôme was indeed persuaded to supply a preface, which should by no means be skipped, as he modestly advises, for it is redolent of the man and of the artist, and passes a very sane judgment on the vagaries of contemporary French art. His American friend is absolutely uncritical, and for much of her eulogy, as for her descriptions of Gérôme's productions, she draws on the writings of others. She is so unsystematic an author that she consumes forty-five pages before arriving at the birth of her subject. From that time her progress is chronological; and she borrows freely from Lenoir's journal of his tour with Gérôme in the East in 1867, and towards the last she cites a good many interesting letters to herself from the artist. Especially noteworthy here are his opinions about the nude in art and about our barbarian tariff on works of art. The least hackneyed of the numerous photogravures and "photo-etchings" is the profile view of the colored statue "Tanagra." The plates, by the way, are not carefully associated with the text, nor is there any index to the latter—a grave fault in a work well calculated for reference.

One of the first publications of the Goethe-Gesellschaft was a small volume of letters written by Goethe's mother to the Duchess Anna Amalia of Weimar. The edition was soon exhausted, and, as the Society decided to leave the further issue of the work to the book-trade, a new edition, containing also the letters of the Duchess to Frau Goethe, was prepared with interesting annotations by Dr. Karl Heinemann, and published by Seemann in Leipzig. It is a volume of 174 pages, and gives the complete correspondence of these two remarkable women. The illustrations consist of two portraits of Frau Goethe, of which the most striking is here engraved for the first time, from a chalk-drawing in the collection of the late Prof. Zarncke. We may add that Dr. Heinemann's 'Goethe's Mutter,' to which we called attention on its first appearance, has just been issued in a fourth edition, thoroughly revised and considerably enlarged, with a number of new illustrations.

After a long pause, Prof. Moritz Heyne of Göttingen puts forth another portion, the fourth, of his distinctive 'Deutsches Wörterbuch' (Leipzig: S. Hirzel; New York: Westermann). Its vocabulary extends from *Licht* to *Quittung*. Stress is laid upon the literary quotations, and, while it cannot be said that any period is neglected, among contemporaries one is particularly struck with the recurrence

of Freytag, Heyse, and Grillparzer, Bismarck and Moltke. The last two are quoted with extreme frequency; and in fact the very first and the very last rubric in this half-volume contain each an extract from Bismarck's speeches. Sometimes the great Chancellor's common-places are selected, as, under *Mönch*, merely the three words "Mönche und Nonnen" are given; but occasionally we have a characteristic phrase, like this under *Messe*: "Die Messe kann gelesen werden ohne Gemeinde," and so of Moltke, e. g., under *Neckerei*: "Die Neckereien der franc-tireurs müssen durch blutige Repressalien erwidert werden." The vocabulary of this part is prefaced by a first enumeration of the sources, beginning with (1) literary monuments and (2) dictionaries, philological journals, etc.

To any one engaged in studying the rudiments of Sanskrit it is undoubtedly helpful to have mastered its more ordinary grammatical paradigms before grappling with the intricacies of the Devanāgarī alphabet. The matter which he has memorized cannot but avail to transform for him those intricacies into comparative simplicities; and his subsequent progress will certainly be more rapid than it would have been if he had set out with attacking strange symbols and strange words simultaneously. Looking to these facts, a welcome, from those whom it may concern, is due to the appearance of a manual entitled 'Useful Sanskrit Nouns and Verbs, in English Letters,' by Mr. Charles Johnston, of the Bengal Civil Service, recently published by Luzac & Co., London. There is, however, in this little book of thirty pages, more than is promised by its title; seeing that it includes under "nouns" substantives, adjectives, pronouns, and specimens of participles. At the end, moreover, is found a list of "a hundred useful roots," with their meanings, which it will prove serviceable to the beginner to learn by heart.

Rand, McNally & Co.'s 'Handy Guide to Chicago' is on a lower plane than Schick's and Flinn's. It has a folding sheet with maps of the city, on a smaller and a larger scale, backing each other. From Rufus Blanchard we have a large folding map of Chicago, with a convenient index to the streets, with approximate street numbers.

A modest little quarterly, *Employer and Employed*, begins its existence this month under the editorship of Mr. N. P. Gilman, Secretary of the Association for the Promotion of Profit-Sharing. It will be published by George H. Ellis, Boston, at 40 cents a year.

The first number of the *Art Student*, "an illustrated monthly for home art study," has reached our table. Its editor is Ernest Kauff, and place of publication, No. 40 East Twenty-third Street, in this city.

M. Octave Uzanne, who founded *Le Livre*, after editing it for ten years substituted for it, in 1890, a simpler publication called *Le Livre Moderne*, which survived two years, having been followed last January by a third periodical called *L'Art et l'Idée*, and devoted like the others to the art of the bookmaker, the illustrator, the printer, the engraver. The first six numbers are now obtainable in a single stout volume (Paris: Quantin; New York: F. W. Christern), clad in a cover made of an embossed paper, pretty enough in itself, but catching the light arbitrarily, so that the smaller type of the title is almost illegible. In the main, *L'Art et l'Idée* resembles M. Uzanne's earlier periodicals: it is fantastic rather than academic; the editor has the courage of his convictions and he has abundant belief in his own taste. Perhaps the new periodical gives

more attention to art—the art of the designer—than did its predecessors. One plate reveals M. Carlos Schwabe as a French pre-Raphaelite, if such a personage is conceivable. One article is devoted to M. Félix Vallot, a wood-engraver who seems to have gone back to the old block-books for his inspiration. Perhaps he is to be called a pre-Dürerite; certainly he is an interesting workman and his blocks have character and vigor. Another paper is devoted to a decorator of vases, M. Joseph Chéret, brother of the designer of pictorial posters. This essay is illustrated with reproductions of some of M. Chéret's most striking vases. The editor acknowledges the receipt of Mr. De Vinne's recent Specimen Book, and remarks that it could not be equalled by any Parisian printer.

Readers of Mr. Douglas Campbell's 'Puritan in Holland' should turn to Mr. S. S. Rider's (Providence) *Book Notes* for October 8, in which that work is criticised in so far as it touches the origin of Rhode Island institutions. Thus, Mr. Rider plausibly denies that Roger Williams "taught the [Dutch] language to Milton," the two having rather read to each other in tongues they were acquainted with; or again that he derived his doctrine of "soul liberty," or his concern about the English title to the soil, or the use of paper ballots (not secret, as alleged), from the Dutch. Mr. Rider follows up his proofs with a humorous parallel between the Greek republics and the Rhode Island colonies, in support of the thesis that "the origin of things in Rhode Island was far more Greek than Dutch."

A New England pedigree of ex-President Cleveland in the September-October number of *Putnam's Monthly Historical Magazine* (Salem, Mass.) will attract attention. On his mother's side (Neal) he is of Southern descent, and this line is not pursued; but the paternal lines, direct and collateral, are very extensively worked out and charted, with brief biographical notices. His great-grandfather, Rev. Aaron Cleveland (1744-1815) introduced a bill in the Connecticut Legislature of 1779 looking to the abolition of slavery, was the father of the Rev. Charles Cleveland, a well-known former city missionary of Boston, and was also an ancestor of the Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, the present Bishop of Western New York. His great-grandfather, another Rev. Aaron Cleveland (1715-1757), died in the house of his friend Benjamin Franklin, who wrote his obituary for the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Through Major Stephen Sewall (1657-1725), a brother of Judge Samuel Sewall, the diarist, Mr. Cleveland is related to many of the Higginsons of Boston and Salem; and through the father, Henry Sewall (1614-1700), to Longfellow. Another noted stock is that of Dummer. The *Magazine* has a tribute to Whittier, and we suggest that it examine hereafter the claim to a kinship between the poet and Daniel Webster—to mention no other celebrities.

In the matter of deciding the fate of vanquished gladiators, the vexed question of thumbs up or thumbs down is discussed anew with learning and fairness by Mr. Edwin Post in the current *American Journal of Philology* (No. 50). The greatest confusion prevails among the authorities on the subject, and Mr. Post makes a strong argument in favor of the view that the death-sign (*pollicem vertere* or *convertere*) was one readily distinguishable in a vast amphitheatre, and that it involved a movement of the whole hand, with the thumb pointing downwards, symbolizing the Roman short sword. An investigation of the oratorical *pollex infestus* seems to confirm this view.

As for the sign of mercy (*missio*), expressed by *pollicem premere*, Mr. Post takes it to have been a concealment of the thumb across the palm of the hand under the four fingers. He cites, with a cut of it, a terracotta relief in the museum at Nîmes.

Most people will remember that Guy de Maupassant made his first appearance as a writer in a story called "Boule-de-Suif," which he contributed to a volume, entitled 'Les Soirées de Médan,' that came out some time about 1880. This was a truly masterly piece of work, and one that its author, in the opinion of some critics, has never surpassed. But there will be few who will not hear with some surprise that the story was in the main a true one, and that Boule-de-Suif was an actual person. Her real name was Adrienne Legay, though she was commonly known in Rouen, where she lived, by the name that Maupassant gave her. She is just dead there by suicide, to which she was driven by the direst straits of poverty. Her age was forty-four.

A good many persons may be interested to know that Prof. A. C. Merriam, Chairman of the Committee on Publications of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, can supply photographs to the number of 274 from a list of negatives taken in Greece in 1891-2 by Dr. Clarence H. Young, a member of the school. This list has been printed, and can be had of Prof. Merriam, whose address is 640 Madison Ave., New York.

—Mr. Edmund M. Barton, in his current semi-annual report, as Librarian, to the American Antiquarian Society, tells of a "suggestive call" on him, to wit: "Have you any merchant's account-books from 1760 to 1770, invoice or journals that would give items, or can you tell me where there are any?" As this meets our eye in the newly published Proceedings, we receive an answer to the inquiry from Mr. Rowland Hazard, President of the Washington County (R. I.) Agricultural Society, in the shape of a pamphlet distributed on the Fair grounds, entitled 'Sundry Prices taken from the Account-Book of Thomas Hazard, son of Robert (called College Tom), showing the depreciation of an arbitrary currency as compared with the actual value of corn and other produce; to which a few other tables of interest are added.' These entries run from 1750 to 1781, inclusive. They give, indeed, a glimpse of the dire confusion of old tenor, new tenor, lawful money, Spanish milled dollars, "Connecticut Frock, so called," and "any other medium current in the Colony of Rhode Island," besides liquidation in "Pork at 3½ d. per pound, Beef at 3 d. per pound, Cheese at 5 Pence per pound, Indian Corn at 3 shillings per bushel." Mr. Hazard made a forcible use of these family records in a speech on silver and fiat money before his Society at their eighteenth Fair, which will be found reported in full in the Wakefield *Narragansett Times* of September 16, and deserves a very wide circulation.

—Mr. Barton's inquirer has still another resource. In No. 45 of the Harvard Library's "Bibliographical Contributions," column 64, he will find that the Essex Institute at Salem, Mass., has, among its voluminous MSS., papers of sundry families "from the early settlement of the country down to recent times, such as deeds, bills, accounts, etc." We have already drawn attention to this truly important index to study and research, called "Notes on Special Collections in American Libraries." It is now completed and provided with an indispensable index, which is, how-

ever, far from being minute enough. For example, neither deeds, bills, nor accounts are entered in it, and one is thrown back for a numerical reference on "Manuscripts." Nor is the accuracy beyond reproach, the compiler's J resembling a T, which gives us T. T. Rousseau for Jean Jacques. Still, even without an index, we could not afford to lack such a clue as this to hundreds of departments and collections and millions of books. It ought to be maintained by revision every five years, and reprinted at the expense of the leading libraries, and be accessible in the smallest public library in the country. The first half broke off at the beginning of New York's entries, and now we have the best brief exhibition ever made of the treasures of the Lenox Library. Among the scattered manuscripts are the note-books of Lewis and Clarke's expedition in the library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; the field-book and map of the Mason and Dixon boundary survey in the library of the Historical Society in the same city; the remarkable literary group of complete MSS. possessed by the neighboring Drexel Institute—a sermon of Cotton Mather's, Poe's 'Murders in the Rue Morgue,' H. Martineau's 'Retrospect of Western Travel,' Dickens's 'Our Mutual Friend,' etc., etc.; the papers of Moses Brown, the Providence merchant, in 18 volumes, in the library of the Rhode Island Historical Society; and many more impossible of enumeration here. Perhaps the most curiously placed collection is Prof. Horsford's gift of more than 400 works for the study of comparative philology, with special reference to North American languages, in the library of Wellesley College. Yet when we think of Miss Alice Fletcher's work among the aborigines, the location does not seem so odd. The greatest lacuna in this conspectus is caused by the National Library at Washington, which is in too dreadful a jumble at present to make it practicable to set forth its characteristic features.

—The thirty-second volume of the 'Dictionary of National Biography' (Macmillan) is well stuffed with great names and interesting characters, beginning with John Lambe, the astrologer, who was mobbed to death in 1628 for calling up phantoms in a crystal glass, corrupting chaste women by magic, bringing on the great London storm of June 12, 1626, and for other naughty behavior. Daniel Lambert, a prodigy of a different kind, succeeds; and two more victims of superstition, Latimer and Laud, together with the Quaker Leddra, hanged on Boston Common in 1661. The article on John Law lacks the embellishment derivable from Prof. Beljame's recent disquisition on the French pronunciation of his name. Artists are numerous—the engraver Landells, one of Bewick's pupils, who founded *Punch*; the Landseers; Sir Thomas Lawrence, who is very frankly dealt with; Edward Lear, and John Leech. Layamon and Langland head the list of authors, with Mrs. Landon and Landor at the other extreme of time and style. Landor is portrayed by Leslie Stephen in his best manner. "Meanwhile," he says of Byron's Boetian Savage, "he found that his neighbors—as was always the case with Landor's neighbors—were utterly deaf to the voice of reason." In sum, "he was for nearly ninety years a typical English public-school boy. . . . Intellectually, he was no sustainer reasoner, and it is a mistake to criticize his opinions seriously." . . . The peculiar merits of his prose are recognized as unsurpassable by all the best judges." Landor's villa in Florence is now the property of an Ameri-

can scholar. Other American connections in this volume are through "Junius Americanus" Lee; Joseph Lancaster, who followed his system of instruction to this country and died in this city in 1838 (one may still see "Escuela Lancasteriana" on the front of more than one school-building in the city of Mexico, and find these schools forming a category in the official statistics of education); Benjamin Lay, the anti-slavery apostle, who died in Philadelphia; Dr. Lardner, who feathered his nest handsomely by his lectures on this side of the water; and John Ledyard, the traveller, who was a native of Groton, Conn. Another traveller, John Lambert, introduced Irving's works to the British public. The musical Lanier family, of French extraction, is said to have despatched to America the branch which produced Sidney Lanier.

—'Richard Wagner's geistige Entwicklung,' by Hugo Dinger, the first volume of which has just appeared (Leipzig: Fritzsche), is perhaps the most elaborate and exhaustive effort hitherto made to trace the course and study the causes of Wagner's intellectual and artistic development. It begins with a critical appreciation of Wagner's personality, which, however, contains nothing new, and then proceeds to the "periodification" of his career. The first period of "conventional imitation," extending to 1840, is represented by "Die Feen," "Das Liebesverbot," and "Rienzi." This was followed by the period of emancipation ("Der fliegende Holländer") and the reformation of the musical drama ("Tannhäuser" and "Lohengrin"), ending in 1849. From 1849 to 1854 Wagner was under the influence of neo-Hegelianism, which was the extreme left of Hegel's tripartite school, radical in philosophy and religion, and revolutionary in politics; to this period belongs "Der Ring des Nibelungen." From 1854 to the time of his death in 1883, neo-Hegelianism is gradually supplanted by the *Weltanschauung* of Schopenhauer, most distinctly traceable in "Tristan und Isolde" and "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg." It may be well to state that every attempt of this kind to categorize Wagner's ideas, and to discover in his musical dramas conceptions corresponding to certain philosophical systems, must be more or less arbitrary and subjective, and that there are no two of his interpreters who agree in the details of their analyses and classifications. If Schopenhauer's doctrine of "the negation of the will to life" forms the fundamental idea of "Parsifal" and "Tristan und Isolde," it appears no less clearly in the first scene of "Tannhäuser" and the final scene of "Lohengrin," and even still earlier in the devotion and sacrifice of *Senta*, faithful unto death to her ideal of duty. There is no doubt, however, that the teachings of Schopenhauer exerted a controlling and constantly increasing influence over Wagner during the last years of his life, and excited in him an ardent sympathy with the metaphysics and ethics of Brahmanism, and especially of Buddhism, from which he derived the motives of a projected musical drama, "Nirvana." In this work, which unfortunately was never composed, the pessimistic principle of "the negation of the will to life" was to find its highest artistic expression and, as it were, religious consecration. Herr Dinger devotes a long chapter, and also prints two hitherto unknown contributions of Wagner, to that rabid organ of insurrection, August Röckel's *Volksblätter*. These articles are entitled "Der Mensch und die bestehende Gesellschaft" (February 10, 1849) and "Die Revolution" (April 8, 1849), and, although they are anonymous, the evi-

dence that Wagner was the author of them seems to be quite direct and conclusive. One argument urged against the Saxon Government was that it expended 19,000 thalers for improving the breed of horses, and only 12,700 thalers for popular education.

—An interesting account of the progress of Egypt under the English occupation was given by Mr. Justice Scott, Judicial Adviser to the Egyptian Government, on the occasion of his receiving the freedom of the borough of Wigan. His testimony is the more important since he has been in Egypt in various capacities the greater part of the time since 1872. After a brief allusion to the condition after the Arabi rebellion, when the country was in a state of anarchy, without an army or police, and burdened with a debt of more than five hundred millions of dollars, he reviewed in detail the present state of the various departments of the Government. In doing this he paid a high tribute to the young Khedive, who "has already won golden opinions from all classes; and I can say with knowledge," adds Mr. Justice Scott, "that he shows the keenest interest in the reforms which his father initiated." His Ministers, also, are "able men, who are earnestly desirous of improving their country." While the heads of departments are still mainly foreigners, Egyptians are being systematically trained to fill places of trust. "Indeed, already they hold one or two of the highest posts, and their capacity for such positions increases yearly." There is a regularly paid and impartially levied army of 13,000 men, and a police force rapidly gaining in efficiency. The revenue has increased and the debt decreased, while the area of arable land has been enormously extended by improved methods of irrigation. The cotton crop alone has doubled in the past ten years. Forced labor has been abolished, and there are "native courts of justice at every town throughout the country whose judges are well paid and whose judgments are respected." The value of education is being appreciated by parents, and school fees are paid in thousands of cases. A civil service is being gradually established on the "principles of efficiency, security from arbitrary dismissal, and sufficient pay and promotion according to service rendered. Local self-government is also being cautiously introduced. Alexandria now governs itself, and eight other big towns are to be endowed with municipal rights." A department having in charge the ancient monuments has been thoroughly organized, and all systematic pilfering and unlicensed excavations have been stopped. In conclusion, Mr. Justice Scott spoke unreservedly and strongly in favor of the continuation of the English occupation. "The good England has done will not be permanent, will not last, unless she remains in the Valley of the Nile some years longer as Egypt's friendly guide and Power."

—Mr. E. E. Barnard, Astronomer at the Lick Observatory, who has added very greatly to the distinction of that institution by the discovery of a new satellite to the planet Jupiter, has made good his title by the publication of detailed micrometric observations in the last number of Gould's *Astronomical Journal*. Since July 1 Mr. Barnard has been a regular observer with the great telescope of the Observatory one night each week, and has devoted much of that time to a search for new objects. Nothing of special importance was encountered until September 9, when, in carefully examining the region immediately surrounding Jupiter, a very faint star was found.

close to the planet, and he at once suspected it to be a new satellite. Subsequently measurements of precision confirmed the suspicion; and, after a few days of observation, the periodic time of the satellite was sufficiently well known to enable the prediction of its times of visibility at the greatest elongation east and west of the planet. The new satellite revolves about its primary in nearly the same plane as the other four satellites, and as the radius of its orbit is only 112,500 miles, it is distant only 68,800 miles from the surface of the planet, or considerably less than Jupiter's own diameter. Of course the accurate measurement of a body so minute is out of the question, but a rough estimation makes the diameter of the little satellite about one hundred miles. Mr. Barnard thinks this object much more difficult to see than the satellites of Mars; if so, there are hardly more than a half-dozen telescopes in existence with light-gathering power sufficient to show it. It has just been detected by Mr. Reed of the Princeton Observatory.

GREEK EPIGRAMS.

Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology. Edited, with a revised text, introduction, translation, and notes, by J. W. Mackail, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Longmans.

THE Greek Anthology is a mass of heterogeneous material which may well dismay anything but the hardihood of scholars and editors like Jacobs and Dübner, or the professional student who mines in it for antiquarian or philological lore. It has discouraged the enterprise of Prof. Mahaffy, for instance, who goes so far as to say that "no study seems to him more wearisome and profitless than the Anthology." It is easy to sympathize with him in this feeling. The Anthology, as it stands, is not a selection, in any proper sense—it is simply a vast reservoir, with some subdivision, into which about 4,000 little poems have been thrown that bear a certain mechanical resemblance in brevity and in metre. So far from being a "garland of flowers," a metaphor which was applied legitimately to the earliest selection by Meleager, it is a garden run to weeds, in which the weeds predominate with varying degrees of worthlessness and noisomeness. But the flowers are there; it would be the greatest mistake to despair in the search, and to miss the exquisite bouquet which Mr. Mackail has culled from the wilderness. His work shows that patience, a sympathetic spirit, and a refined literary method were all that was needed to reach the true worth of the collection. Even the scholar may thank him for this labor; and every reader of taste will accept with delight the gleanings which are here presented, with luxurious clearness of arrangement, with useful translations and notes, and with an introduction which combines at once learning, literary skill, and the sympathetic appreciation that a poet may bestow upon poetry.

It is true that many minor works dealing with the Anthology have already been published in English—some excellent versions by Merivale, by Mr. Butler, and by Mr. Andrew Lang, the verses edited by Graham Tomson, and in particular the luxurious collection of renderings in many languages edited by Dr. Wellesley. But Dr. Wellesley's book, with all its merits and its undeniable fascinations for the dilettante, enshrines some doggerel, and concerns itself too much with quips and cranks. Sometimes it lapses into bad taste, as

where Moore's weak version of Plato on Aster is appended to Shelley's, and, in the main, it is an apotheosis of the *Musa Etonensis* and her sportive but uninspiring sisters. It does not at any rate represent the Anthology in its spirit and its integrity. Mr. Mackail's is the only serious attempt in English to do for the Anthology what Mr. Matthew Arnold did for Wordsworth. It is a great deal to say that the Anthology needs this process fully as much as *The Excursion*.

The selection is arranged on a principle which confers on 500 bits of verse something of the unity that is naturally craved by the reader. The editor's intention, as he himself explains, is, apart from the value of the poetry in itself, "to draw in little a picture of the Greek ideal, with its virtues and its failings: to give an epitome, slightly sketched with a facile hand, of the book of Greek life." If, in composing his sketch, he has omitted some ugly spots and dark lines entirely, he has every reason of decency to justify him, and perhaps even of truthfulness. It by no means follows that the large proportion of libertinage and coarse language in the epigrams fairly represents their proportion in Greek life, any more than the prevailing French novel fairly represents the average of French life and manners. The beauty and unity of the selection are increased by the same device which Mr. Palgrave used so happily in the *'Golden Treasury'*: each epigram has its descriptive heading, and they are so arranged as to strike a sort of symphony of varying and harmonious notes.

There is a great deal of posing in the Anthology, and it is natural to talk, as Mr. Lang does in one of his pretty essays, as if there were nothing but posing—as if the epigrams were mere literary exercises, forced sighs and laughter, composed on paper and without inspiration. Our author has succeeded better by taking his work seriously. His introduction contains a careful and scholarly sketch of the growth of the Anthology, and an appreciation of its literary quality which is, on the whole, the best that has been said on a subject which Sainte-Beuve himself has treated. One of the most remarkable features to which he calls attention is the long period embraced by the Anthology—the continuous literary tradition which it illustrates. It is a chain which reaches from Simonides—perhaps one might say, from Minnervmus and Theognis—down to Rufinus and to Cometas Chartularius; it begins with the invasion of Xerxes, its last links were gathered by Planudes, who served as ambassador from Constantinople to the Venetian Republic in 1327, at a time when Petrarch first saw Laura, when the *'Divina Commedia'* was already written, and when the star of Chaucer was about to rise on the horizon of English literature. These later links, it is true, were but silver or leaden, but the vocabulary is much the same as that of Callimachus, and a couplet of Cometas is expressed in words which are partly Homeric.

Some of Mr. Mackail's gleanings from Kaibel's collection of monumental inscriptions recall us to the original meaning of the word epigram, from which the best Greek examples were developed; and from which the best usage never greatly swerved. The epigrams of Martial and of the later writers in the Anthology are indeed pointed and "epigrammatic." Most of them will answer to Boileau's definition: "un bon mot de deux rimes orné," but it is well to remember that "no good epigram sacrifices its finer poetical qualities to the desire of making a point, and none of the best depend on having a point at all."

A stroll through a churchyard, it is needless to say, will introduce us to as much posing and as much false sentiment as one finds in the epitaphs of the Anthology. One encounters less art upon the tombstones, but quite as large a proportion of artifice and affectation. Kaibel's collection of epitaphs illustrates this generally; but one of the sixth century B.C. recalls by its pathos as well as its reserve those melancholy, tearless eyes which gaze from the funeral reliefs at Athens:

"Looking on the monument of a dead boy, Cleotes, son of Meneschemus, pity him who was beautiful and died."

A long remove from this in subject and in provenance is the following epitaph found in Florence. Simonides did not disdain to write an inscription in his grand manner for a Thessalian hound; and "the man of petty ambition" in Theophrastus follows a fashion in erecting a monument to a Maltese lap-dog. The unknown master here followed no fashion, but wrote from the heart:

"Thou who passest on the path, if haply thou dost mark this monument, laugh not, I pray thee, though it is a dog's grave; tears fell for me, and the dust was heaped above me by a master's hands, who likewise engraved these words on my tomb."

The section headed "The Human Comedy" reminds us how ancient are the immortal jests which rise again oftener than the Phoenix to fly through our newspapers. The physician whose glance is fatal; who has made an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the undertaker; who, like Achilles, sends his tens of thousands to Hades before their time; or, again, the thin lady who was accidentally fanned out of doors, and that other who wears her own hair bought with her own money—this gallery is probably prehistoric as well as contemporary. The following shows that the Greeks were entirely capable of a species of exaggeration which is supposed to be American humor. It is headed "Slow and Sure":

"Charmus ran for the three miles in Arcadia with five others; surprising to say, he actually came in seventh. When there were only six, perhaps you will say, how seventh? A friend of his went along in his great-coat crying, 'Keep it up, Charmus!' and so he arrives seventh; and if only he had had five more friends, Zöllus, he would have come in twelfth."

This other is more pungent and Attic in flavor:

"All hail, seven pupils of Aristides the rhetorician: four walls and three benches."

The predicament of the two deaf men who pleaded before a deafer judge has lately been renewed by a case in Paris, where the plaintiff's replies in court seesawed at random from his wife to a mad dog. It is even possible that the Parisian case is a myth based on the following original, which to its verisimilitude adds a spice of 'Alice in Wonderland':

"A deaf man went to law with a deaf man, and the judge was a long way deafier than both. The one claimed that the other owed him five months' rent, and he replied that he had ground his corn by night. Then the judge, looking down on them, said, 'Why quarrel? She is your mother; keep her between you.'"

Just as it stands, this is much funnier and clearer-cut than an exceedingly clumsy paraphrase in doggerel printed by Dr. Wellesley.

The humor and a delicate tipsiness of fancy which fits the subject, make the following apostrophe to a jug of wine quite worthy of Charles Lamb in his best vein:

"Round-bellied, deftly-turned, one-eared, long-throated, straight-necked, bubbling in thy

narrow mouth, blithe hand-maiden of Bacchus and the Muses and Cytherea, sweet of laughter, delightful mistress of social banquets, why, when I am sober, art thou in liquor, and when I am drunk, art sober again? Thou wrongest the good-fellowship of drinking."

It is impossible to quit the Anthology without a word about Meleager. Mr. Mackail notices that his love verses are distinguished from most earlier Greek poetry by the whole gulf which divides ancient and modern sentiment. Between him and Sappho there is set a world of feelings and ideas. Sappho, as far as we know her, simply expresses passion—the sudden Oriental passion of the 'Arabian Nights'—with Greek directness and imagination; Meleager, in spite of the sensualism of some of his verses, has crossed the bridge toward the romantic and mediæval spirit—the spirit which issues in the *Rime* and the *Paradiso*, and, *longo intervallo*, in Mr. Coventry Patmore's "Angel of the House." His mysticism is in itself another note of division from the Greek spirit—a note of harmony with the world of Petrarch and of Dante. No Greek before him had ever thought of Cupid as "the Artist who sets his signature beneath the Soul which he has created"; as "Love the Helmsman, steering the Soul, like a winged boat, over the perilous seas of desire"; as "the Child playing idly with his dice at sundown and throwing for human lives." And, if we take him in another vein, was ever the lover's impatience—the swift reversal of his magnetic currents—hit off more exquisitely than in this little picture, which catches the instantaneous flashes of his mood with the camera, and fixes them with the finish and permanence of a cameo?

"Take this message, Dorcas; lo again a second and a third time, take her all my message; run; delay no longer; fly. Wait a little, Dorcas, prithee a little; Dorcas, whither so fast before learning all I would say? And add to what I have just said—but no, I go on like a fool; say nothing at all—only that—say everything; spare not to say everything. Yet why do I send thee out, Dorcas, when myself, see, I go forth with thee?"

Our extracts have already illustrated sufficiently the quality of Mr. Mackail's translation. At rare intervals one might complain that it is a little severe and bald, following with superfluous closeness the idiom and the participle of the original. But this is, probably, a matter of artistic conscientiousness, and in any case the result is far removed from the slavishness of the crib. The exchanges of idiom which our editor permits himself show that he might safely trust his taste a little further. His book is not only a piece of scholarship, but a work of art, which offers the reader the pleasure of things beautiful in themselves, and at the same time presents a succession of authentic miniatures of Greek life and ideas.

FRÖBEL IN PUBLIC LIFE.

Ein Lebenslauf: Aufzeichnungen, Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse von Julius Fröbel.
Vol. II. Stuttgart: Cotta.

THE second volume of Fröbel's autobiography begins with his return to Europe in 1857, and ends with his resignation of the German consularship at Algiers and his retirement to private life at Zurich in 1888. After an absence of eight years, which had been passed for the most part in the wilds of the New World, and had been full of varied experiences and perilous adventures, he was at first rather painfully surprised to find how completely he had become alienated from ordinary European life,

and how narrow and ignoble it appeared to his "Americanized eyes." Even in Paris, the chief centre of Continental culture and refinement, where he spent the first ten days after landing, the prevailing spirit seemed to him "petty, sordid, and mean." In Germany, he felt like one who, having left in early youth the insignificant village of his birth and grown to manhood in a great metropolis, perceives on his return that the trees are not half so tall, nor the houses half so stately, as he had fondly imagined them to be. As this feeling was fully shared by his wife and intensified by the wanton annoyances to which he was subjected by the Frankfort police, until the energetic intervention of the American consul put a stop to them, he resolved to pass the winter of 1858-9 in London and to sail for New York in the following spring. But the sudden death of his mother-in-law, Countess Armansperg, in January, 1859, caused this plan to be deferred and finally abandoned altogether.

Having reestablished himself in his native land, Fröbel could not long refrain from taking an active part in public affairs. In 1858 he published a small volume entitled 'Amerika, Europa, und die politischen Gesichtspunkte der Gegenwart,' in which he indicated and emphasized the rapidly increasing influence of the United States as an important but hitherto neglected factor, that could not be safely overlooked in future plans for determining and preserving the political balance of power in Europe. This work was followed in 1859 by a pamphlet, 'Deutschland und der Friede von Villafranca,' containing suggestions for the reconstitution and unification of Germany, to the realization of which he devoted all his energies until the events of 1866 revealed the full extent of the fatal mistake he had made in supposing Austria capable of initiating and accomplishing the federal reform he so earnestly desired. Indeed, this error, so strange in a man of such large experience and remarkable sagacity and soundness of judgment, continued to color Fröbel's political views in a greater or less degree till 1870. "I did not," he says, "presuppose in Prussia either the power or the will to solve the German question; and but for Bismarck, who was then as little known to the rest of the world as to myself, I am inclined to believe that I should have been right. To this plea one might reply that Prussia alone was able to produce a Bismarck, and this is perfectly true." A young lady from Königsberg, to whom he communicated the drift of his pamphlet, was greatly incensed at its contents and begged him not to print it; at the same time she submitted to his consideration the five cardinal points of Prussia's political programme: 1. Subversion of the Austrian system. 2. Liberal constitutions in Italy. 3. A liberal constitution in Hungary. 4. Repulsion and repression of France and liberation of Italy by Prussia. 5. Union of Germany under Prussia. Such, she assured him, was the sum and substance of the policy of the ministry of Prince Hohenzollern, and urged him, as a lover of liberty and a true patriot, to support it. This incident is interesting as showing what definite plans Prussia had already formed as early as 1859 touching her relations to Austria and the other German States, and how far the youthful townswoman of Kant surpassed the veteran publicist in her knowledge and appreciation of them.

Fröbel, if not the originator, was at least the ablest advocate and most strenuous promoter of the political scheme known as "the German Trias," and it was for the purpose of

carrying this project into effect that he consented to enter the service of the Austrian Government in the spring of 1862. His position in Vienna was a peculiar one, and, in the words of the aulic councillor Von Gagern, "unexamined in the history of governmental usage." Without portfolio or even official recognition, he virtually directed the whole domestic and foreign policy of the Empire in its relations to the German States, as well as in its diplomatic and commercial intercourse with the other leading nations of Europe.

We need not follow our author in his minute expositions of the means by which he endeavored to secure at least the triunification of Germany, for the subject has long since ceased to have more than an academical or autobiographical interest. Suffice it to say that he proposed to establish a sort of triarchy, which was to consist of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia as hereditary members, and a sovereign to be chosen periodically by and from the heads of the smaller principalities. The directory thus constituted was to be invested with executive power and presided over by the Emperor of Austria, upon whom were to be conferred the hereditary title and dignity of German Emperor. The legislative power was to be vested in a parliament consisting of two branches: a House of Princes, composed of representatives of ruling families and free cities and presided over alternately by the kings of Prussia and Bavaria; and a House of Commons, whose members were to be elected, not by popular suffrage, but by the legislative councils or local diets of the several States. Provision was also made for a federal court competent to examine and decide constitutional questions, and to exercise supreme judicial functions in all matters not falling within the jurisdiction of the single States. Fröbel confesses that this complicated and rather clumsy political machinery was very far from realizing his ideal of a perfect constitution, but it seemed to be the best attainable under the circumstances.

We may add that the informal state papers prepared by Fröbel for the information and guidance of the Austrian Cabinet and printed in this volume, his correspondence with the most prominent public men of Germany, and his contributions to the press, especially to the semi-official Vienna *Beobachter* and the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, are very creditable to him as a patriot and a publicist, and reveal diplomatic ability and statesmanlike qualities of a high order. These documents are important as throwing new light on the personal intrigues and political plots and counterplots which preceded the foundation of the German Empire, and contain valuable material for the future historian of that formative and fermenting period.

After several years of rather annoying journalistic experiences as editor and proprietor of the *Süddeutsche Presse* in Munich, Fröbel entered the service of the German Empire in 1873 as Consul at Smyrna, and it is significant of the strictness with which the civil-service regulations are observed in Germany, that a man who had reached the sixty-eighth year of his age and distinguished himself in politics, and of whose general ability and eminent fitness for the office he sought no one entertained the slightest doubt, could not receive the appointment without first passing the prescribed examination.

The most entertaining portions of the present volume are Fröbel's characterizations of the various persons with whom he was brought into contact and had occasion to converse on the

topics of the day. Thus, in the spring of 1869, being in Paris, Ollivier invited him to breakfast, and remarked suddenly in the course of the conversation: "I will tell you the secret of French politics. We take it for granted that there will be war with Prussia. We assume that in a few days after the declaration of hostilities there will be a battle, and that of course we shall win. French prestige will thus be saved. We shall then offer peace to Prussia, permitting her to do what she pleases in Germany and demanding for France only Belgium and some rectifications of the frontier." "But suppose that France should not win the first battle?" asked Fröbel. "Dans ce cas l'Empereur ne rentrera plus à Paris," replied Ollivier; "and Germany would have no longer the Emperor, but the French nation to deal with." Shortly afterwards, Fröbel had an interview with Prince Napoleon, who seemed to share Ollivier's opinions on the probable results of the impending war, but at the same time censured the policy pursued by the imperial Government towards Prussia: "D'un pouvoir comme la Prusse on doit être ou le complice ou l'ennemi décidé. Nous n'avons pas été ni l'un ni l'autre. Mais ce n'est pas moi qui fait la politique française." Bismarck, whom Fröbel first met in December, 1868, and whose policy he had formerly opposed and severely and even maliciously criticised, he sums up as "a man of clear intellect, bodily strength, terrible force of will, confidence of purpose, fidelity, and great good-nature." To the reproach that Prussia had stopped half way in the work of unifying Germany, Bismarck replied: "We must not require that the great objects we are striving after should necessarily be attained within our lifetime"; adding that the final union of Germany must not bear within itself the seeds of an irremediable hostility between the South and the North, but must be accomplished willingly and gladly, even if it should take thirty years. In his dealings with Austria he expressed the desire to reduce to a minimum the tension which it was the policy of Beust to increase between the two States, and was willing to show his vanquished rival the leniency and indulgence which leads a strong man to gratify even the whims of a capricious woman to whom he is bound for better or for worse. But Austria should not put this kindly feeling to too severe a test: "Zwischen einer Sammetband und blankem Stahl giebt es für mich Nichts in der Mitte."

Readers who care little for the vicissitudes of European politics can hardly fail to be interested in Fröbel's account of affairs in Munich after the accession of Ludwig II. and during the ascendancy of Wagner as royal favorite. He characterizes the latter as "full of the thought that his confidential relations to the young king imposed upon him great and high obligations; he certainly had the noblest intentions; but for political efficiency his conception of the matter was altogether too poetic, not to say too theatrical or operatic." Even the youthful and romantic monarch detected this weakness in his protégé, and forbade by ministerial decree the further publication of a series of articles on "German Art and German Politics," which Wagner had begun to issue in the Munich *Süddeutsche Presse*.

COLUMBUS AUTOGRAPHS.

Autógrafos de Cristóbal Colón, y Papeles de América. Madrid: M. Murillo. 1892. Pp. 203.

SOMEWHAT more than a year ago the Duchess of Berwick and Alba, Countess of Siru-

ela, published at Madrid a volume of 600 pages, containing a selection of documents from the archives of the house of Alba, which are of great value for the history of Spain and the other nations of Europe during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. Among these papers are several relating more or less directly to the discovery of America. Thus, in the last will and testament of Janoto Berardi, a Florentine merchant of Seville, bearing the date of December 15, 1495, the Admiral Don Cristóbal Colón is instructed to pay to Berardi's executors, Jeronimo Rufaldi and Amerigo Vespucci, the sum of 180,000 maravedis (\$540) besides other compensation for three years' services rendered by himself, his brothers and his sons. He also commends his little daughter to the care of the Admiral as "a good Christian and servant of God." There are also checks of the year 1504, signed by Christopher Columbus and drawn in payment for ship-stores and sail-cloth. A document of still greater importance is a long letter written by the Bishop of San Domingo from Mexico, February 12, 1533, and addressed to the Empress and Queen Isabella, wife of Charles V., in which much sensible advice is given concerning the ecclesiastical and economical administration of the Spanish provinces in the New World. The Bishop censures the cruel policy of the conquerors, and denounces the theory that the resources of the country cannot be developed without enslaving the natives, as a mere pretext by which apparent zeal for the commonweal is made to serve as a cover for individual cupidity. In this connection he extols the humane and just treatment of the Indians by a certain Quirón. Still later, in 1578, we find a lively epistle written from San Domingo to the Duke of Alba by Donna Marcelina Colón de Toledo, who recommends to his Excellency her father-in-law, Capt. Adriano de Padilla, now about to return to Madrid. This lady was a granddaughter of Christopher Columbus, and remarks: "Our family is in straitened circumstances, for my grandfather, Don Cristóbal, discovered the treasures of India in order that others might enrich themselves and his descendants remain poor."

As a supplement to the aforementioned work, the Duchess of Alba has just printed another collection of 'Autógrafos de Cristóbal Colón,' containing forty-six documents which had been thrown aside as waste paper. The Duchess, who is an adept in deciphering the obscure characters and abbreviations of mediæval Latin and Spanish manuscripts, reexamined this supposed rubbish, and was rewarded by discovering autograph letters and other records not only of Christopher, Ferdinand, and Diego Columbus, but also of Hernando Cortes, Diego Velasquez, and Diego Mendez, so that the contents of the volume is more varied than its title indicates. Of special interest are the full instructions given by the King and Queen to Juan de Aguado, who was sent out in the spring of 1495 to examine into the state of affairs in Hispaniola. The text of these instructions hardly confirms Mr. John Fiske's statement that Aguado's appointment was made in a spirit friendly to Columbus, inasmuch as gross abuses are spoken of and complaints brought against the administration of the colony for leaving the aborigines to die of hunger while "the discoverers are up to their necks in gold." It is evident, as Mr. Justin Winsor affirms, that Aguado was sent as "an inquisitor to the colony," and that his mission originated in dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Viceroy.

The material of the book is on the whole in-

teresting, but not of the first importance, though some side-lights are thrown upon persons and events. For instance, we have known that one Muliar (as the name is generally given) married a sister of the wife of Columbus, but we have known little more of him. Here we find a mutilated letter of this person (unfortunately without date) addressed to his "illustrious and most magnificent" relative, showing how this brother-in-law was at one time in debt to Columbus for 25,000 maravedis. He signs the paper Miguel Molyart, while Columbus's endorsement on the paper calls him "migel muliart." The papers of Ferdinand Columbus are not without value, particularly one written for his father, in which he explains the charges incurred in Jamaica. The chief help to the student, however, is found in several papers concerning the Viceroyal Government of Columbus's successor, the second admiral, Diego Columbus, including his instructions to Jerónimo de Agüero, and the petition in furtherance of his interests which he made at one time to the Emperor. Diego hardly proved equal to the task which fell to his lot as the heir of the Discoverer, and nothing in this volume will raise the opinion which has been entertained of him.

We find in depositions made against Sebastian Cabot some not unexpected indications of the opinion in which he was held in certain quarters in Spain. Indeed, there is little in any of the documents here disclosed to make one have a very exalted estimate of the characters of the leading Spaniards of the time associated with American events, either from modern or from their own standards. Cortez, Pizarro, Guzman, Nicuesa, and even one of the most interesting of the group, Diego Mendez, come before us in the stray glimpses which these chance documents afford as accusers or accused. Most of them are little worthy, all things considered, of such consideration as the world is accustomed to bestow on honorable conduct.

We may add that the greater part of these "autographs," of which a portion are reproduced in facsimile, belong to the sixteenth century, only a very few bearing an earlier date.

A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary in the Thirteenth Century. Edited by Henry Charles Lea, LL.D. Philadelphia: Lea Brothers. 1892.

THERE is nothing more striking to the student of the Roman church organization than the development of institutions within the body of the Church, which, originally creations of the papacy and subject to its direction, become in time practically independent of it and at times even superior to it. The best-known illustration of this tendency is found in the Inquisition, nominally always the servant, but capable of showing itself on occasion very plainly the master, of the Roman policy.

In an earlier work, already classic in its field, Mr. Lea has given us a complete study of the Holy Office; and now he presents us with what ought to be the first contribution towards a history of a second great Roman institution, not less potent in its effect, and not less influential, perhaps, in calling the attention of the world to the evils of the papal system. The Roman Penitentiary is that branch of the papal administrative machinery which has to do with the fixing of penalties in cases of appeal from local ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and with the granting of dispensations from local decisions. On the good Roman

principle of "as it was in the beginning," the Penitentiary claims for itself an indefinite antiquity; but Mr. Lea, in his introduction, gives it as his opinion that it did not exist as a definitely organized institution before the second quarter of the thirteenth century—a point of time, in fact, when all branches of the church life and doctrine were going through a reorganization into forms destined to be permanent. Mr. Lea's argument here is not positive; it is the argument from silence, never quite convincing when applied to periods of meagre literary productiveness; but, so far as it goes, it seems to be a sound one. In the case of an institution dealing with such varied and intricate problems, it can hardly be supposed that reference would not have been made to an organized board of appeal if such had existed.

Having settled this point as to time, Mr. Lea concludes further, chiefly on internal evidence, that the collection of formulas now for the first time printed represents a very early stage of the institution, offering a model for the future drawn from the irregular and more irresponsible practice of the past. The cases presented are plainly not *a-priori* ones, but such as had actually been decided, and were probably selected as typifying classes of cases likely to occur again. Here and there names of persons can be identified with some degree of certainty, and serve thus to fix approximately the date of the collection between the years 1220 and 1255.

The formulas themselves fill the greater part of the volume. They are grouped under 179 rubrics, and under one rubric there are frequently two or more cases, so that the whole number would be nearly 400. They include every variety of offence, from the vague scruple of conscience of a clergyman, whose only sin was that he had for years been following the wars, up to the eager personal repentance of self-convicted murderers. In almost every case the point at issue is a doubtful one. The questions are not usually such as could be readily settled in accordance with some established precedent or rule. These complicated problems of the clerical conscience form the natural justification of the institution of the Penitentiary. In a church system whose very essence was uniformity and authority, it was of the first importance that there should be some tribunal before which doubtful cases might be brought. It could only seem scandalous to the standard of the Middle Ages that local decisions should vary one from the other. If, then, as was inevitably the case, this tribunal grew to claim and exercise a fatal influence over the rights of local authorities, it should be remembered that, during the time of its development, local powers were hopelessly inadequate to the solution of such problems.

It is on this point that we find our only disagreement with Mr. Lea's conclusions. He has no good word to say for the element of actual service rendered to the peoples of Europe, during their semi-barbarism, by the very existence of a tribunal like this. Naturally its action was resisted by all local and national tendencies, whenever these were able to speak for themselves, and unquestionably there were times when abuses were abundant. No doubt the crisis must come when Europe had reached her majority and needed papal control no longer; but, on the other hand, the deep debt of gratitude that Europe owes to Rome is nowhere more clearly shown than in this attempt to put in place of a wavering and uncertain complication of legal and moral principles a uniform and authoritative practice.

Aside from the controversial aspects of the subject, this publication must be of great interest to all mediæval scholars from the peculiar light it throws upon the whole ethical spirit of the Middle Ages. It is easy to discern the opportunity for fraud, for money-getting, and for tyrannical interference offered by an infallible absolving agency; but no institution can live which is not supported by the general consent of the community, and the ethical standards here reflected were undoubtedly sincerely held. Mr. Lea emphasizes, and justly, the temptations to perjury on the one hand and to hasty and partial judgments on the other, but it would be monstrous to suppose that the trouble of conscience which was the moving impulse in most of the cases here cited was not genuine and a fair reflection of the temper of the age.

It is matter for regret that the editor has not been able to get any information as to the history of the manuscript from which his text is printed. Since this is a first edition, scholars may have a reasonable curiosity to know upon how substantial a basis of genuineness it rests. A facsimile page of the original shows it to have been carefully written, with a moderate degree of ornamentation.

France under the Regency. With a Review of the Administration of Louis XIV. By James Breck Perkins. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1892. Pp. xvii, 603.

THE main title of this book is derived from the lesser half of it, the review of the administration of Louis XIV. exceeding in space the account of the Regency. It is the work of a man who is at home in his subject, judges fairly, and writes well. It is therefore pleasant reading; but we do not know that it much modifies our opinions, except, possibly, with regard to the character of Dubois. Mr. Perkins claims, as others do, for the centralized monarchy of Louis XIV. the credit of having put down feudal anarchy and introduced uniformity of administration and, in some measure, of law. Richelieu had done this to a great extent, and the Fronde was an interlude not so much of revived feudalism as of personal cabal directed against an unpopular minister. Feudalism is such a political ogre that to be opposed to it is a title to approbation; but if it had an apologist, he might ask what feudalism, supposing its reign to have been prolonged, could have done much worse than waste the substance of the people in wars of ambition or the expenses of a prodigal court, throw the whole burden on the laboring class, reduce that class to want of bread and the barbarism which attends it, expel the flower of it from the country by religious persecution, debauch the noblesse, estrange them from their rural duties, get the finances into hopeless disorder, and lay the train for the Revolution. The despotism of the Great Monarch was highly gilded, and we are ready to take its gilding at a fair valuation. It was æsthetically an improvement on the coarse despotism of the East, and even on the more artificial autocracy of the Cæsars; while it scarcely had the justification which the first had in nature and the second had in the circumstances of the Empire. But St. Simon and other writers of memoirs present us—in this court of superfine manners—with instances of ill-breeding, indecency, and even filthiness, apart from the licentiousness, which would have disgraced the most plebeian home. The root of really good manners is in the heart, and where selfishness prevails, there may be

polish; true courtesy there will not be. If, as Mr. Perkins reminds us, Louis bowed to every woman he met, few did more than this ostentatious adulterer to defile and degrade the sex. That the constellation of intellect which illustrated his reign was not the fruit of his despotism, but a survival from a less despotic era, has been conclusively proved by Buckle, whose demonstration Mr. Perkins repeats. Than the character of the King himself there never was one more revoltingly selfish, or, saving outward grace and majesty of demeanor, in which no doubt he excelled, further from the ideal of a Christian gentleman. That he was misled by ministers or priests is a poor excuse. He must have known perfectly well what he was doing when he bombarded Genoa and ravaged the Palatinate. He must have known pretty well what he was doing when he drove the Huguenots from their homes and sent their ministers to those galleys the horrors of which, described once more by Mr. Perkins, rival anything in the most cruel tyrannies of the East.

It is pleaded that the King, when he ordered the dragonnades, was under the dominion of his priests, and that on them the chief blame must rest. But he was not under the dominion of the priests when they bade him keep the Ten Commandments or the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. He obeyed them only when their injunctions coincided with his own tyrannical passions. He did not scruple, when his pride was affronted, to bully the Pope; and had the priests interposed on that occasion, the limits of their dominion would have been quickly seen.

Mr. Perkins has failed, we think, to point out with sufficient clearness the social and economical mischief which Louis did by drawing all the land-owners away from their estates in the country to Versailles. There is something to be said for the manorial system so long as the lord is resident and does in any tolerable measure his duty to his tenants; but when the lord is an absentee, racking his tenants through a bailiff, the system becomes an unmixed curse, and this was what Louis XIV. made it. The comment of history on his system is the Revolution.

Mr. Perkins, we think, is successful in the defence of Dubois against the charge of corrupting his royal pupil. Nature had probably been beforehand with the tutor. It is possible, also, that, amidst the unspeakable profligacy of the Regency, the character of Dubois might have passed muster if he had not been a priest and a prince of the Church. But then he was a priest and a prince of the Church. It is very curious to see the intense desire of such a man to obtain the highest position in what he called the Church of Christ, and his delight when, by the most flagrant simony, a cardinal's hat had been obtained for him. That the Regent Orleans was a good-natured man, and not without light till the light in him was quenched by debauchery, would, we suppose, be generally admitted; and he and Dubois deserve credit, as Mr. Perkins says, for having done their best to keep the world at peace. To this extent France owed to them the progress in wealth which during this period she made.

Mr. Perkins seems inclined to smile on Law. Nobody doubts that Law was very clever, or that he had an inkling of economical truths. But it is hopeless to defend an economist and financier who could issue an enormous volume of paper with no other basis than the highly problematical gains of a settlement in Louisiana, and imagine that he

had to that extent increased the wealth of France.

From the moral infamies of the Regency Mr. Perkins has no deduction to make. He exhibits them once more in their well-known foulness. On the whole, the feeling with which we lay down his essay is one of increased thankfulness that, whatever may be the evils and perils of democracy, we have escaped from hereditary and personal government.

Against one incidental judgment of Mr. Perkins we must enter a caveat. He seems to think that the Jansenists were little better than the Jesuits, having no advantage over them except such as is common to all sects winnowed by persecution. It is probable that the Jansenist was hardly less narrow than the

Jesuit, and that, placed in power, he might have been hardly more tolerant; but he was not, like the Jesuit, casuistical and political; he was moral, and it is reasonable to believe that, even had he been placed in power, his morality would have told. The spirit of Pascal would surely, in any circumstances, have been better than that of his antagonists.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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Billings, Dr. J. S. Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office. U. S. A. Vol. XIII. Sialogues—Sutugin. Washington.
Buchanan, Rev. S. H. The World and the Book. Clarksville, Ark.: S. H. Buchanan.
Carlin, W. W. Echoes of the Sunset Club. Chicago.
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